Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages

INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL RESEARCH

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Volume 21

Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages

From the Atlantic to the Black Sea

Edited by

Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder

BREPOLS

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Introduction: Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea

Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder

The Mobile Middle Ages

Before we can talk about travels and mobilities in the Middle Ages, we first need to address a factor that has cast a long shadow over scholarly and public perceptions of the period, and from which scholarship has only recently begun to emerge: the long-standing association between mobility and modernity. In the nineteenth century, when pioneering scholars such as E. G. Ravenstein began work in the fields of mobility and migration studies, they did so in the context of the mass movement of people set in motion by the Industrial Revolution in

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England.[1] The influence of the field's early history has been pervasive; scholarship on this major dimension of human movement has, until very recently, considered modern movements of people largely in isolation from their premodern counterparts.[2] Scholarship on travel and exploration, too, has suffered historically from a similar bias. The major English language series that publishes translated primary sources in this field is the Hakluyt Society's. Thus we read our accounts of whaling voyages in the nineteenth-century Atlantic and Christian missions in thirteenth-century Asia alike under the shadow of an early modern editor who did much to further and promote English activities in the world's incompletely known oceans and new found lands.[3] When Cambridge University Press published its first *Companion to Travel Writing* in 2002, the editors chose 1500 as its *terminus a quo*. Early modernity, it implied, is when travel really begins.[4] Long distance travel, exploration, discovery, mobility, and migration became, and for a long time remained, associated with modernity. Unexamined in the background of these assumptions, the Middle Ages too often provided, as Kathleen Davis has pointed out, 'an alterior, static mode of existence against which claims of modernity can define themselves'.[5]

If the contrast, often implied rather than explicitly stated, between a static Middle Ages and a mobile modernity was sharp, that between the Middle Ages and fast-moving post-modernity is often presented as starker still. We 'global citizens' are routinely reminded through media and marketing that our globalized world has been and continues to be shaped by hitherto unimaginable speeds and levels of transportation and communication. Our impression is that

[1] Ravenstein, *Census of the British Isles*; Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration'; Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration: Second Paper'.

[2] As recently as 1990 a handbook of migration studies was produced that featured no discussion of migration prior to the twentieth century: *Handbook on International Migration*, ed. by Serow and others. A much more recent and comprehensive handbook features two primarily historical chapters, out of forty-seven: *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, ed. by Gold and Nawyn. For a more balanced approach see *Cultures in Contact*, ed. by Hoerder.

[3] *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. by Hakluyt; *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*. For details of the Hakluyt Society's publications from 1847 to the present, see <http://www.hakluyt.com/index.htm> [accessed 29 September 2014].

[4] *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Hulme and Youngs. See also the various general interest volumes that treat the period of 1450–1600 as the 'age of discovery' or 'age of exploration': Arnold, *The Age of Discovery*, and Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance*.

[5] Davis 'Time behind the Veil', p. 107.

we — meaning, of course, an economically and geographically privileged subset of the world's population with the financial and technical means — are travelling more and further than anyone has travelled before. Based on these assumptions, scholarly claims not dissimilar to those for the link between modernity, mobility, and migration are now advanced for postmodernity. 'Regions formerly remote', the editor of a recent collection of studies focused on migration and diaspora informs us, have now 'become connected through the spread of industrialization and the opening of markets, a process that relies heavily on advances in communications technology'.[6] With postmodernity comes increased globalization, a phenomenon often equated with instantaneous connection between different areas of the world, unprecedented levels of mobility, the elision of distance and, sometimes, a concomitant sense of dislocation.[7]

But for some time now, medievalists have been fighting back against the assumption, whether explicit or implied, that the medieval period is a kind of inversion of the contemporary, a backdrop against which the increasing momentum of modernity and the dizzying speed of post-modernity can be thrown into relief. Historians of travel, exploration, and expansion have long reminded us that this was a period when rulers often moved in person around their realms, when place pilgrimage was a central component of Christian religious belief, and when intercontinental trading networks brought cloves from the Spice Islands to England and propelled Venetian and Genoese traders as far as China.[8] It was also a period when the Catholic Church claimed universal spiritual jurisdiction and, as we will see in Nordeide's article below, attempted through legates and missionaries to make good on those claims.[9] Such exceptional travellers — traversing great distances, leaving detailed accounts of their journeys, working on behalf of the great political and religious figures of their day — have enjoyed significant amounts of scholarly attention in recent decades.

[6] Paik, 'Introduction', p. 1.

[7] For a critical take on contemporary usage of the term 'globalization' see Massey, *For Space*, pp. 81–98. On globalization and the dislocation of culture see Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*.

[8] Margaret Wade Labarge's work of popular history, *Medieval Travellers*, stressed this as early as 1982. See also similar points in Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter* (= *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. by Hillier); Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China*; Verdun, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Holoch.

[9] See for example Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, and Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'orient au Moyen Âge*.

This attention may even be said to have placed their journeys in a great tradition of medieval travel.[10]

Medievalists have, furthermore, become restive about the compartmentalizing effects of historical periodization that have enabled scholars and the general public alike to disconnect the Middle Ages from modernity and post-modernity, and ourselves from aspects of culture and society, past and present, that we wish to disavow.[11] John M. Ganim, for instance, sees affinities between the role of the 'medieval' in producing the self-images of modernity and postmodernity and the role of 'the Orient' in the construction of 'the West'.[12] Scholars have also made headway in tracing connections across our artificial but often institutionalized historical divides. In a recently published collection of classic essays, James Muldoon and Felipe Fernández-Armesto have argued that the European expansion often considered characteristic of the renaissance in fact began with the processes of domestication, urbanization, conquest, and conversion of the high and later Middle Ages.[13] At the same time, other scholars have investigated mobilities through late antiquity and the less well documented early medieval period.[14] Such work participates in a broader historiographical trend to work across the sometimes restricting and damaging artificial boundaries of historical periodization. Indeed, the desire to explore connections, continuities, and changes between the medieval and early modern periods is reflected in several essays in this volume, notably those of Rüther, McCleery, and Jakobsen.[15] These developments have led to a realization in recent years that medievalists ask not

[10] See for example collections and translations of primary sources such as Dawson, *Mission to Asia*; *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. by Yule and Cordier. See also detailed studies such as Guèret-Laferté, *Sur les routes de l'empire Mongol*; Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*; Mund, 'Travel Accounts as Early Sources of Knowledge about Russia'; Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance* and *Medieval Ethnographies*; Reichert, *Erfahrung der Welt*, and the editors' own works: Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden* and *Marco Polo (1254–1324)*; O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*. Numerous essay collections also deal with travellers in this tradition. See for example *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. by Akbari and Iannucci; *Eastward Bound*, ed. by Allen; *Travels and Travelogues in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Kosta-Théfaine.

[11] See for example Davis, 'Time behind the Veil'.

[12] See Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism*.

[13] See Muldoon and Fernández-Armesto, 'Introduction'.

[14] Handley, *Dying on Foreign Shores*; *The Very Beginning of Europe?*, ed. by Annaert and others; *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Quast; Scior, 'Mobilität um das Jahr 800'.

[15] We see this trend in the remit of current journals that publish across the medieval and renaissance periods such as *Viator* and the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*.

just medieval questions, but modern ones, and that our period of focus is one that has connections with its own past and future, and our present.

Among those medievalists concerned with the connections and affinities between present and medieval worlds are those engaging with work that draws, overtly or silently, on postcolonial methodologies. Such work, with its inbuilt mistrust of anything that resembles a 'grand narrative', takes issue with the positivist assumptions that underpin the associations between mobility and modernity. Rather than arguing for the hitherto-unrecognized significance of medieval travel, imperial or colonial ventures, and cultural encounters within a broad historical schema, postcolonial approaches have pointed out affinities between the medieval and post-modern experiences of cultural encounter, dialogue, and exchange. These affinities are often born out of the shared experiences of contested borders, conflict, diaspora, dislocation, inequitable power-relations, but also of cultural exchange, globalization, migration, and cultural assimilation.[16] Perhaps also influenced by the priorities and focus of postcolonial work, recent historical work has also advanced our understanding of the constitution and traversal of borders, frontiers, and peripheries, and their interrelationship with perceived centres.[17] Scholars are also using different documentary sources to illuminate the mobility of a wider group of people, including those from lower socio-economic social groups vulnerable to under-representation and over-generalization.[18] This is resulting in increasing understanding of the spatial horizons of a wider range of medieval people than that achieved through focus on the exceptional, the intrepid, and the celebrated.

As we stand in the second decade of the twenty-first century, then, we are beginning to unfold a picture of medieval mobilities and travels that is complex, nuanced, and very far from the caricature of general stasis punctuated by the occasional exceptional individual or movement. Travel along medieval roads across Latin Europe and beyond its borders was common; indeed, late

[16] For post-colonial approaches to aspects of medieval mobility, see for example Burger, 'Cilician Armenian Métissage', and Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters and Borderlands'. For good reviews of recent work bringing some of the approaches of postcolonialsim to medieval studies, see Holsinger, 'Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique'; Gaunt, 'Can the Middle Ages Be Postcolonial?'; Borgolte, 'Mittelalterforschung und Postmoderne'. See also the 'Medieval Mobilities' special issue *Postmedieval*, 4 (2013). A similar approach is taken in *Unaufhebbare Pluralität der Kulturen?*, ed. by Borgolte.

[17] See for example the essays collected in *Medieval Frontiers*, ed. by Abulafia and Berend; *Frontiers in Question*, ed. by Power and Standen; *Within Reach*, ed. by Papp and Mylod.

[18] See, for example Harrison, *Medieval Space*, and many of the essays in the collections *Des sociétés en mouvement* and *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Horden.

medieval pilgrimage included a certain amount of organized, package travel on a large scale that would not seem unfamiliar today.[19] It is now axiomatic that goods, people, technologies, religions, cultural and political knowledge, social, economic and military ideas and practices all travelled in the European Middle Ages. Our notions of what travel is, and the evidence that can be used to approach it have also changed; plants and animals, ideas, skills, technologies, texts, and artistic motifs travelled and spread with wandering merchants, missionaries, envoys, soldiers, and slaves. Medieval people were thus anything but immobile, unadventurous, or ill-equipped to travel. Moreover, while a lack of personal freedom may have been common in lower levels of medieval societies, the automatic correlation of this with restricted movement is questionable. Mobility is found across society's ranks in the period to the extent that the editor of a recent collection on the subject urges scholars, unless there is good reason to do otherwise, to 'assume mobility in the medieval past'.[20]

Scope of the Collection

When the International Medieval Congress 2010 took up the theme of travel and exploration, marking the 550th anniversary of the death of Prince Henry 'the Navigator' of Portugal, it stepped into a flourishing and expanding field. Papers presented at the Congress took in a wide range of topics related to travel, exploration, mobility, and the geographical imagination. Irrespective of the name featured in the Call for Papers, the conference was far from dominated by historians of medieval exploration and discovery — the very idea of which was, in fact, critiqued by keynote speaker Patrick Gautier Dalché.[21] The papers were, rather, diverse. They elucidated the journeys of travellers well and lesser known, considered literary journeys, investigated the landscapes travellers encountered and explored the infrastructure of travel through documentary evidence and

[19] Discussions of this are plentiful; see for example Morris, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages'.

[20] The relationship between mobility and freedom of movement has been a point of particular interest to historians, and findings have sometimes been surprising: *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Horden (with contributions for all medieval periods). It has been argued, for example, that those with least agency were among the most mobile in the early and high Middle Ages: Ziekow, *Über Freizügigkeit und Aufenthalt*; Schmugge, 'Mobilität und Freiheit im Mittelalter'.

[21] Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Maps, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages', Keynote Lecture, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 12 July 2010 (unpublished).

archaeology. The conference as a whole testified, in fact, to diversification: a shift in focus away from the exceptional — and the well known — figures who might have monopolized such an event a decade or two earlier and towards the harder to reconstruct and less extensively studied journeys of a variety of individuals and groups of higher and lower status. The range of papers submitted, moreover, testified to a shift in focus away from travel as a separable phenomenon, divisible from the rest of medieval life, and towards a consideration of geographical mobility as embedded in all sorts of social, cultural, religious, and political contexts.[22] Studies of medieval mobility and travel now combine these considerations not just with more obvious research areas such as communication, migration, and refugees, but with examinations of rulership and administration, disability studies, studies of the history of thought, art, and technologies, mentalities, and emotional response, and with consideration of gendered, political, cultural, or class identity.[23] Finally, the interdisciplinary mandate of the conference encouraged the contribution of papers that deployed literature to shed light on developments in social, cultural, and military history, that combined archaeological, onomastic, historiographical, diplomatic, and inventory evidence that asked new questions of well known texts, and that brought new methodologies or approaches to bear on questions of mobility. These trends have, together, governed the choices made for this volume.

Like the conference from which they grew, the articles in this volume are mixed. We have intentionally selected papers that treat a range of individuals and groups who took to the road or to the sea in medieval Europe.[24] Some are more familiar individuals of the kind one would expect to find in the category of 'medieval traveller': kings, queens, nobles, crusaders and soldiers, diplomats,

[22] This trend is discussed in O'Doherty, Hicks, and Gascoigne, 'Introduction' to *Journeying along Medieval Routes*, ed. by Gascoigne and others.

[23] For examples of studies in many of these linked areas, see *Kommunikation und Mobilität im Mittelalter*, ed. by de Rachewiltz and Riedmann, which, focusing largely on Italy and Germany, contains articles on military orders, rulers, pilgrims, students, mercenaries, craftsmen, merchants, and migrants, as well as mobile artistic and literary motifs, the migration of knowledge, and moving artefacts. Relationships between medieval mobility, migration, and identity have been explored in, among others, Isacson and Koch, 'Losziehen und Los ziehen'; Handley, *Dying on Foreign Shores*; Cassidy-Welch, 'Refugees'. On the intersection between mobility and fear, see Seidenspinner, 'Angst und Mobilität', and Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc*.

[24] A further collection developed from the same conference treats specifically the routes medieval people travelled and journeying as a practice as well as its representation: *Journeying Along Medieval Routes*, ed. by Gascoigne and others.

migrants, and refugees. But some are less familiar: the medical traveller, the political exile, the student, religious beggars, and men, women, and children with disabilities. The volume's bias is intentionally towards travel undertaken as part of everyday life. In the editors' view, hinted at in the preceding section, exceptional travels — whether over exceptional distances, exceptionally well documented and recorded, or involving highly unusual inter-cultural and inter-religious experiences — have received disproportionate levels of attention in recent years. Whilst such work is, of course, of critical utility and importance to medievalists, the firm aim of this volume is to put this into perspective among the myriad quotidian journeys and mobilities of medieval Europe. Work on travels from the perceived 'centre' of the world to its imagined peripheries is therefore principally represented here in two articles (Nordeide; McCleery). The majority of articles focus on the less studied area of the integration of mobility into everyday life: the student who must necessarily be mobile (Schuh); the disabled person for whom everyday mobility is an extraordinary challenge (Metzler); the soldier for whom peregrination is a way of life (Rüther); and the cultural constructions of mobility and identity that help create that norm (Fischer). Finally, we have made an intentional effort to honour the IMC's interdisciplinary traditions by selecting articles that combine different varieties of evidence in unaccustomed ways or read their evidence against the grain for unusual information (Hosler; Metzler; Watson; Quirini-Popławski; Nordeide). These scholars go beyond the usual sources of evidence for travel and mobility — whether historiographical or travelogue — or read these from an unaccustomed perspective, asking why a king did *not* crusade; reading miracles for mobility; extrapolating historical and cultural information from inventories; bringing architectural and environmental evidence to bear on historical sources.

Volume Sections

The volume's essays fall into four thematically organized sections: Centres and Peripheries: Travellers on the Margins; Nobility of the Road: Travel and Status; Men and Women on the Move: Gendered Mobilities; and Migration and Return: Peoples and Objects on the Move. The rationale of these themes was to combine two aims: to reflect established research trends well represented at the International Medieval Congress — such as research on travelling rulers — and to place in the foreground emergent research areas, such as the intersection of mobility and (gendered) identities, marginality and mobilities, and histories of displacement.

Centres and Peripheries: Travellers to and on the Margins

The articles in the volume's opening section speak to two concerns that have become important in medieval studies over the last few decades: the geographical and conceptual peripheries of what scholarship terms 'Latin Christendom' and the peoples and places that have not thus far been considered central in scholarly treatments of the medieval world. In recent years, medievalists have made a concerted effort to push at the boundaries of what and where the Middle Ages were, to situate the medieval within a broader historical context, and to bring methodologies and conceptual categories and tools developed in relation to other (normally later) periods to bear on the Middle Ages. The result has been some interesting and challenging work. Robert Bartlett has alerted us to the fact that in order to understand the making of medieval Europe, we need to look at its conceptual edges, a trend that has been productively continued by other scholars.[25] Literary, historical, and interdisciplinary scholars of travel, travel writing, geographies, and mythologies of the world have focused our attention on the importance of other spaces — at the periphery, beyond the known — in the construction of medieval Europeans' self-images and epistemologies.[26] Disparate though all this work undoubtedly is, it shares certain key concerns: a desire to break down established boundaries; an impetus to problematize monoliths like 'the Latin Middle Ages' as concepts; a concern to pay more attention to regions and to people that Anglophone scholarship in particular has neglected, and a belief in the capacity of 'the marginal' — constructed though that concept may be — to question and critique 'the central'.

Ranging in scope from the far North-West to the South-East, from diplomats to the disabled, this section comprises essays that share affinities with these perspectives. **Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen** looks at what were, from the perspective of Rome, the furthest northern reaches of Latin Christendom. He considers the mobility of mendicant friars in medieval Scandinavia, focusing not, as is more usual, on the long distance journeys of missionaries among non-Christian peoples, but on the everyday mobility of Franciscan and Dominicans and these friars' roles within dispersed, rural communities.[27] Jakobsen discusses

[25] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*; *Medieval Frontiers*, ed. by Abulafia and Berend.

[26] Higgins, *Writing East*; Hiatt, *Terra Incognita*; Goldie, *The Idea of the Antipodes*.

[27] The foundational discussions of the Dominicans' missionary activities in the East are Altaner, *Die Dominikanermission des 13. Jahrhunderts*, and Loenertz, *Les freres peregrinants*. Particular attention has been paid to Mongol missions in Dawson, *Mission to Asia* and much subsequent research. For long-distance Franciscan missions, see most recently the doctoral

the ways in which the common European mendicant practice of *terminario* — walking the limits of one's allotted district to preach and collect alms — was adapted to the specific geographical and demographic conditions of medieval Scandinavia. With vast, often inhospitable and cold reaches of sparsely populated land to cover, Scandinavian mendicants could not always expect to return to their monastic house or a specific *domus terminariae* overnight as regulations required. Scandinavian mendicant orders also demonstrated high levels of cooperation, in contrast to the rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans found in more urbanized and populous parts of Europe. Jakobsen's detailed investigation questions the anti-clerical and post-reformation stereotype of the travelling mendicant as an unwelcome, parasitic visitor to stable rural communities. Complaints about the activities of the *fratres terminarii* tend to be balanced by documents witnessing their cooperation with parish priests, their provision of vital religious services in out-of-the-way areas, and their value to isolated rural communities. Moreover, the mundane practice of mendicant *terminario* conceals some quite extraordinary journeys of thousands of miles, such as that of the Norwegian Dominican encountered by Italian merchant Pietro Quirini in the remote fishing community of Lofoten, some one thousand miles from his house (p. 12).

Saebjorg Walaker Nordeide's discussion of 'Papal Delegations to the Northern Edge of the World' takes a different perspective, examining interactions between Europe's religious and administrative centre and this constructed periphery in new and interesting ways. Supplementing the few written sources concerning the papal embassies led by Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (1152–54) and Johannes de Serone and Bernhard de Ortolis (1311–12) to Scandinavia with archaeological, climatological, and architectural evidence, Nordeide considers the importance in the experience of mission of matters such as visitors' 'responses to the climate, the lodgings provided for them, the food served, and the table manners they encountered' (p. 34). Nordeide explores the ways in which the geographical origins and backgrounds of travellers, their formation, and the circumstances of their journeys would have affected their experiences in medieval Scandinavia. For travellers from different parts of Europe, journeys in the far north would have been a combination of the environmentally, architecturally, culturally, and linguistically familiar and strange, a fact

thesis by Heullant-Donat, 'Missions impossibles'. Recent discussions of Franciscan mobility closer to home include Ertl, '"Ihr irrt viel umher, ihr jungen Leute"', and, for other monastic contexts, Israel, 'Reform durch Mönche aus der Ferne'.

that should cause us to think twice about application of simple categories of 'self' and 'other' in medieval cultural analysis. A travelling diplomat's capacity to adapt to changing conditions — a capacity influenced by his formation and background — could contribute significantly to the success or failure of a diplomatic mission.

At the end of the Middle Ages as these are traditionally understood, and ranging from the edge of the continent to the retreating confines of the known world, **Iona McCleery**'s article, 'From the Edge of Europe to Global Empire: Portuguese Medicine Abroad' looks at the relationship between travel and the medical in a very different context. McCleery's article exemplifies how a consideration of a seemingly self-explanatory category like the 'medical' traveller can lead to new ways of thinking about a number of related problems in the histories of medicine, imperialism, and colonialism. Medically trained and experienced travellers from or connected with Portugal saw the regions through which they travelled and the people they encountered in ways heavily inflected by their scientific formation. The observations that they made contributed to a growing body of knowledge and concern with medicine, public health and disease, diet and nutrition, and the relationship between human health and environment. At the same time, however, the article shows some of the questionable uses to which such knowledge could be put, from the identification of 'cannibals' in the Americas by Diego Álvarez Chanca (1493–96) to the contribution of seemingly neutral medical observations by Master Afonso (1565–66) to a broader sixteenth-century anti-Ottoman discourse. But the figure of the 'Portuguese medical traveller', McCleery shows, is also a lens through which one can productively examine other issues raised by cultural encounter in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Under close examination, the distinctively 'Portuguese' nature of certain medical travellers emerges as problematic. This peripatetic figure, moving around a burgeoning empire in an expanding world, cannot be considered without simultaneously examining the meanings of categories such as 'home' and 'abroad', and the constructions of identity that related to these.

From travellers from and to places considered on the margins of medieval Europe's geographical or conceptual worlds, the volume turns to a group of travellers marginalized within modern scholarship almost to the point of near-invisibility. In 'Have Crutch, Will Travel', **Irina Metzler** reads a number of textual and pictorial sources of a familiar genres — miracle stories, marginal illustrations — specifically for the information that they can offer us concerning the mobility of people with disabilities in the medieval period. Metzler's article addresses a somewhat shameful gap in scholarship; in academic discussions of

miracle cures at saints' shrines, the lives and experiences of the disabled people central to the narratives have seldom been central to research. Metzler opens up a vista onto a quite different medieval Europe, one in which the roads were travelled, in the hope of 'a cure' by disabled people walking with crutches, travelling in carts, baskets, wheeled barrows, and litters, often aided but sometimes abandoned by members of their families and communities. Through sources concerning the exceptional mobility of such individuals, we can also access information about their daily lives; the 'before and after' structures of miracle stories offer sometimes meticulous and detailed accounts of the mobility impairments suffered by some, and their methods for circumventing or overcoming these. Metzler's article makes for uncomfortable but nonetheless vital reading in more than one way. Not only are we alerted to a deep-seated prejudice that has rendered medieval disabled people all but invisible, but we are reminded that in the medieval period, as now, access for disabled people was 'a matter of affordability as much as of the (built) environment' (p. 114).

Nobility of the Road: Travel and Status

The mobility of noble men and women is a topic that has attracted the attentions of scholars for many decades.[28] Early and high medieval European rulers, of course, rarely remained in one place for long; their rulership depended to a significant degree on their capacity to move around and be seen by their people. The movement of a monarch entailed the movement of that monarch's entourage. In many regions of the Latin West and Orthodox East of Europe, that entourage, which would include women as well as men, was highly mobile. Broad territories had to be rapidly covered for military purposes, while the king's frequent physical presence was of great importance in societies that placed particular weight on face-to-face interactions. Rulership was bound up in the capacity to cover ground and fill space. Indeed, when, early in the fourteenth century, Pierre Dubois, counsellor to Philippe le Bel, proposed that a king should stay put and send others out to fight, negotiate, and handle business on his behalf, he could find precedents for his proposal only in ancient Rome

[28] Important recent scholarship is collected in *Les élites et leurs espaces*, ed. by Depreux and others. Among earlier scholarship see in particular Peyer, 'Reisekönigtum des Mittelalters'; Ruiz, 'Regierung auf Reisen'; Ehlers, 'Ort, Region, Reich'; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*; Leyser, *Communications and Power*. For a study using GIS technology, see Laczny, 'Friedrich III. (1440–1493) auf Reisen'.

and among the distant Mongols.[29] In fact, the interdependence between more sedentary elements of society and its highly mobile élite presents something of a challenge to received anthropological divisions between settled and nomadic societies.[30] Whilst historians once considered such structures as indicative of the backwardness of medieval society — a society considered not yet able to function on a more abstract level — the articles gathered here set aside such positivist notions to consider the relationships between mobility and power for the royal and the noble in three different ways and settings.

Crusading was a motivation that set members of the European élite, along with socially diverse entourages, into long range motion. **John Hosler** inverts our more usual perspective on the motivations of this group, however. Assuming desire to crusade as the normative position for high medieval elites, why, Hosler asks, did Stephen, English king from 1134–54 *not* take the cross? From an examination of Stephen's information networks, court, and interests, Hosler paints a picture of a monarch fully apprised of preparations for the Second Crusade undertaken during his monarchy and likely to consider crusade a family tradition and indeed obligation, but who did not take a vow. Rather ironically, Hosler finds a possible answer to the question of this monarch's failure to undertake a major, long distance journey in his domestic itineraries. The King's domestic movements in 1146, Hosler suggests, may be construed as an 'all-out effort' to put an end to domestic infighting (p. 135): an effort of the type one would expect a monarch to make before a long overseas journey. The failure of this effort, and thus the continued need for the contested monarch's personal presence throughout his domains, made crusading an impossibility for the king.

But medieval kings and queens did not only rule in person. Regional and international diplomacy as well as the control of dispersed or disputed lands relied upon a network of higher level nobles and functionaries, studies of whose mobility can be both informative and fascinating.[31] In 'The Travels of Ivan Babonić', **Hrvoje Kekez** shines a light on the mobility of a member of this class in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Slavonia (northern Croatia), then part of the lands of the king of Hungary. Kekez's study shows that Ivan Babonić and other members of his family needed high levels of personal mobil-

[29] Pierre Dubois, *Summaria brevis*, ed. by Kämpf, pp. 19–20.

[30] This is explored further in Schmieder, 'Von der "Christianitas" nach "Europa"'.

[31] This is particularly true when the sources are full. See, for example, Stewart, 'A Year in the Life of a Royal Justice'.

ity to maintain and further their interests. Kekez traces Babonić's movements as he maintained and increased his family's estates, undertook duties for members of his extended family networks, and acted, as *banus* of Slovenia, on behalf of the Hungarian king in military and administrative roles. Kekez alerts us to the symbiotic relationship between mobility and power. The family's willingness and ability to travel probably influenced King Charles Robert's decision to appoint first Ivan's brother, Stephen, then Ivan himself, to the important position of *banus*. But travel for diplomatic and military purposes also enabled the family to develop other important political and familial affiliations beyond the kingdom of Hungary. Throughout his career, Ivan Babonić's influence and mobility rose and fell in tandem; in Babonić's case 'there is', Kekez observes, 'a direct relationship between levels of mobility and the growth and decline of political influence' (p. 159).

The final article in this section takes its themes of crusading and the relationship between mobility and nobility in new directions. As Kekez has amply shown, for members of the lower nobility, status was not a given, but had to be actively asserted, pursued, and maintained. **Mary Fischer** looks at another theatre in which lesser nobles asserted and affirmed their noble status and gendered identity: the fourteenth-century Prussian Crusade.[32] Fischer's article explores the relationship between the establishment of participation in Prussian crusades in the fourteenth century as a 'rite of passage' for European noblemen and chivalric, peripatetic constructions of masculinity in a central historiographical text of the Teutonic order, the *Chronicle* of Nikolaus of Jeroschin. Fischer uncovers a text concerned on the one hand to legitimize Prussia as an appropriate destination for armed pilgrims while, on the other, drawing upon a model of crusading masculinity that combines nobility, piety, and moral and spiritual progression. Weaving together the languages of chivalry, mysticism, pilgrimage, and Marian devotion to construct Prussia as the ideal destination for an armed pilgrim, the *Chronicle* emerges as pivotal to the establishment of the 'Preußenreisen' as a proving ground for many of Europe's young noblemen.[33]

[32] For recent work in this field, see the collected essays in *International Mobility in the Military Orders*, ed. by Burgtorf and others, and Legassie, 'Chivalric Travel in the Mediterranean'.

[33] It is instructive to compare the trend outlined by Fisher with that which Selzer outlines in relation to Iberia, a proving-ground for German crusading knights: Selzer, 'Die Iberische Halbinsel als Ziel bewaffneter Mobilität'.

Men and Women on the Move: Gendered Mobilities

With its focus on the inter-relationship between constructions of chivalric masculinity and international mobility, Fischer's exploration of the 'Parfit gentil knight' brings us to an aspect of medieval mobility that has only recently begun to be recognized and explored: its gendered nature. At the time of writing, it is well over twenty years since the study of masculinity and men began to take its place alongside the study of femininity and women as a legitimate and indeed urgent object of historical enquiry among medievalists.[34] However, while many essay collections and at least one recent monograph have probed cultural constructions of masculinity among clerical, bourgeois, and knightly groups and considered the relationships between literary models of masculinity and lived experience, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the role played by mobility in masculine identity formation and socialization.[35] While works have probed the connections between masculinity, militarism, empire and rulership, celibacy, learning, and literature, the dimension of mobility that unites the real and imagined men has been curiously absent from analyses.[36] However, while the intersection of mobility and constructions of masculinity is an area where there is more work to do, the study of women's mobilities in the Middle Ages is still, relatively speaking, in its infancy.[37] Attention to medieval Europe's cultural gender paradigms has been a significant influence here; observations such as that 'men often form their identities by extending themselves beyond the home in journeys of conquest, discovery or trade' while 'women's identities are typically defined within the home' have sometimes gone hand in hand with the treatment of female mobility in the Middle Ages as exceptional or deviant.[38] The articles in this section advance these developing

[34] For the early history of this trend, see Fenster, 'Preface: Why Men?'.

[35] See for example *Medieval Masculinities*, ed. by Lees; *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Hadley; *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Cohen and Wheeler; Karras, *From Boys to Men*; Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*; Rau and Greulich, 'Männer in Wort und Tat'; *'Ich bin ein Mann! Wer ist es mehr?'*, ed. by Hindinger and Langner.

[36] For a book-length discussion that deals at length with the connection, see Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration*.

[37] Many handbooks, monographs, and essay collections produced in the last few decades feature little or no explicit attention to gender and the experiences of women. Exceptions here are Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*; a short overview in Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*. A section devoted to women in Horden, *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages* in fact features only one essay on mobile women.

[38] Guy Halsall has recently critiqued an assumption in some Late Antique and early

fields. Two explore how gendered identities and cultural ideals of masculinity were inflected by mobility among two very different social groupings. Mobility emerges as important in the construction of a normative, sedentary model against which mobile masculinities could be judged. The final essay in the section turns to queens, a group of medieval women who, though exceptional, can hardly be considered deviant. Often born to move, queens could spend much of their lives in motion, and we need to attend to the gendered paradigms of mobility that could permit and enable that motion.

Opening this section's discussions of masculine mobilities, **Stephanie Rüther**'s article turns its attention to a class of soldier that falls conspicuously outside the traditional class of *bellatores* to which Jeroschin's *Chronicle* had attempted to appeal: the mercenary.[39] Rüther takes an unusual perspective on the subject.[40] Instead of examining mercenaries from the point of view of the inhabitants of the regions they raided or as a tactic in late medieval warfare, she traces the self-perceptions of the group of German-speaking mercenaries known as *Landsknechte* using the songs attributed to them (*Landsknechtslieder*). Her study shows that the representations and self-representations of the landsknechts reveal a complex relationship between masculinity, mobility, class, and individual and group identity. Borrowing from the military orders, the landsknecht songs emphasize brotherhood and equality among their own 'order', a condition that sets them apart from the hierarchy of the settled community. At the same time, however, landsknecht songs promised a life of freedom, rootlessness, self-sufficiency, and sexual promiscuity. Disbarred by their mobility from normative, settled models of masculinity related to household, property, and hierarchy, the marginal landsknechts developed alternative models that sometimes paralleled those of settled society, but sometimes valorised what settled communities did not and, at times, positively revelled in the dangerousness of their countercultural gendered identity.

medieval scholarship, clearly based in part on the presumption that women did not move around, that the presence of women in a band of people on the move is an indicator that the people must have been migrating: Halsall, 'Why Do We Need the Barbarians?'. Quotation from Bowers, 'Margery Kempe as Traveler', p. 4. Contextualization of Margery among other female pilgrims is rare in scholarship: on Margery as 'not the typical pilgrim', see Roman, 'Margery Kempe and Italy', p. 159.

[39] On the medieval model of an ideal society as organized functionally into *oratores* (those who pray), *bellatores* (those who fight) and *laboratores* (those who work; as described by Adalbero of Laon and others around the year 1000), the classic text is Duby, *Les Trois Ordres*.

[40] Compare also López Pérez, 'La movilidad de la guerra'.

In his examination of scholars in later medieval Germany, **Maximilian Schuh** draws upon and extends the work of Rainer Christoph Schwinges and others who have recently taken forward work on masculine, academic mobility in the Middle Ages.[41] Through an examination of the effects of increasing university attendance in late medieval Bavaria, Schuh's work takes issue with the literary and rhetorical goliardic stereotype of the marginal, dangerous wandering scholar.[42] At the same time, he also questions certain anthropological approaches to the all-male rituals of medieval university life, cautioning against the 'generalizing notions of manhood in medieval university contexts' that they tend to create (p. 248).[43] Schuh explores the intersection between scholars' social status, status within the university, behaviours, and mobility. Alongside drinking, gambling, and chasing women — the stereotypical behaviours often attributed in literature and invective to male students away from the regulatory influences of a fixed home — students engaged in very different gendered behaviours. Some maintained wives and children at a distance; others looked after the interests of extended families, while some headed what we might term substitute academic families within their chosen universities. Schuh finds that, rather than being an elite, all-male, exclusive community, the late medieval University of Ingolstadt was composed of graduated and varied 'sub-communities' that had 'different ways of imagining, negotiating, and performing their gender' (p. 259).

The final essay in this section reminds us that noble women could be as mobile as their male counterparts.[44] While some were dedicated to religious orders and could become nuns, abbesses, or prioresses of religious foundations close to their places of birth, many married, and often far from their childhood homes. These mobile agents of cultural transfer and change undoubtedly had

[41] See *Über Mobilität von Studierenden und Gelehrten*, ed. by Andresen and others; Irrgang, *Peregrinatio academica*; Nuding, 'Mobilität und Migration von Gelehrten im Großen Schisma'; Wei, 'Scholars and Travel in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'; Verger, 'Le rôle des "nations etudiantes"'.

[42] See for example Irrgang, 'Scholar vagus, goliardus, ioculator'. For stability as opposed to mobility in noble and urban contexts, see Staub, 'Wanderjahre der Politik'. On vagabonds, see Schubert, 'Mobilität ohne Chance'.

[43] See for example the anthropological approaches employed by Karras in *From Boys to Men* and 'Separating the Men from the Goats'.

[44] See recent studies of this phenomenon from the early and late Middle Ages respectively: Le Jan, 'D'une cour à l'autre'; Bawcutt and Henisch, 'Scots abroad in the Fifteenth Century'; Masschaele, 'Town, Country, and Law'.

to leave aspects of their lives behind them, but also brought entourages, fashions, technologies, languages, literatures, and customs with them to their new homes.[45] Philippe le Bel's adviser, Pierre Dubois, went so far as to suggest that the cause of the recovery of the Holy Land for Latin Christendom could be advanced if better use were made of women's potential as agents of transfer; specially trained Christian girls given in marriage to Muslim leaders might bring about by stealth what military action had failed to achieve.[46] While Dubois's suggestion seems to have remained the intriguing dream of a desk-bound counsellor, **Zita Rohr**'s essay reminds us of the importance of noblewomen's roles as regents, co-regents, and agents of cultural transfer, and that mobility could be vital in their performance of these roles. Yolande of Aragon (1384–39), daughter of King Joan I of Aragon and wife and co-regent of Duke Louis II of the second house of Anjou, was born into a society in which queen-lieutenancy and itinerant rulership were the norm, rather than the exception. In her examination of Yolande's 'semi-nomadic career', Rohr shows how the influences and traditions of her natal house 'were called upon and adapted to the tangled circumstances and aspirations of the second house of Anjou' (p. 221). Yolande was far more than a queen who happened to travel. Through her agency and mobility, the Angevin territories experienced an adapted version of the Aragonese model of face-to-face, itinerant, shared rulership. Yolande and Louis's relationship was, Rohr argues, 'a complementary and constructive partnership, straight from the Aragonese mould of proactive and practical de-gendered co-rulership' (p. 239).[47] It was an arrangement that was, for the most part, adapted particularly successfully to the Anjou's political and geographical situation, enabling the couple to keep control of their dispersed territories while furthering their interests during the intense dynastic struggles of the Hundred Years War.

Migration and Return: Peoples and Objects on the Move

No volume on mobility in the Middle Ages would be complete without some attention to the phenomenon of migration. To an early twenty-first century audience, migration may seem a uniquely contemporary topic. We read daily of

[45] Spiess, 'Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann', p. 36. On women, clerics, and cultural transfer more recently see Rando, 'Frauen und Kleriker'.

[46] Discussed in Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 201.

[47] On a comparable model and its consequences for political culture in the Empire see, among many others, Schmieder, 'Städte und Herrscher'.

group migrations forced by war, unrest, economic necessity, and environmental change, of the opportunities and anxieties surrounding economic migration, and of attempts to document and control it. Far too frequently, we must also address the disasters and incidents of exploitation that disproportionately affect migrants, from the sinking of poorly-maintained vessels to forms of slave labour. Human migration is a phenomenon that binds the present to the past, and indeed the presentist approaches to migration studies noted at the beginning of this introduction have, in recent years, given way to increasing levels of attention to the causes, processes, and effects of migrations large and small in other historical periods, including the Middle Ages.[48] In fact, the expectations sometimes placed upon medieval research in this area — that the history of migration will somehow provide answers to a question that preoccupies today's politicians — sometimes seem rather weighty.[49] Nonetheless, the current trend towards the historicization of human migration is welcome. The study of the conditions attendant on migration, of its experience and effects throughout history, provides a valuable corrective to ahistorical and presentist discourses that either ignore or manipulate this phenomenon's long and complex past.

A volume of this type is not the place for extensive historical surveys or theoretical discussions of medieval migration; these are more fully and effectively dealt with in the dedicated monographs, essay collections, and journal special issues here referenced. Instead, the articles in the present section take specific examples of longer-term movements of groups and individuals who may be considered to have migrated, in the sense of one of the term's two main meanings: to move from one region and settle in another, or to change location periodically (*OED*). The articles both problematize the study of migration

[48] A number of books in this field aimed at the general reader have recently appeared; see, for example, Livi Bacci, *A Short History of Migration; Europa im Geflecht der Welt*, ed. by Borgolte and others, and (both academic and general) *The Encyclopaedia of Global Human Migration*, ed. by Ness. Recent monographs and collected studies also historicize different migrations at regional, national, and supra-national level. See for example *Mobilität und Migration in der Region*, ed. by Baumann and Kießling; Hoerder, *Geschichte der deutschen Migration vom Mittelalter bis heute*; the collection *The Very Beginning of Europe?*, ed. by Annaert and others; Kleinschmidt, *People on the Move*. Book-length studies on medieval migrations have thus far tended to focus particularly on the late antique period and early Middle Ages: Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West*; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*.

[49] See for example the press release concerning an Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project 'England's Immigrants 1330–1550': Immigration into Medieval England 'has lessons for today', University of York, 17 November 2011 <http://www.york.ac.uk/news-and-events/news/2011/research/medieval-immigration/> [accessed 29 September 2014].

in the medieval period and offer new perspectives and methodologies for its investigation. The authors all address, directly or indirectly, a number of common problems in medieval migration studies. Evidence of whether groups or individuals intended to relocate for shorter or longer periods, or whether they harboured hopes of return, is often lacking. Documentary sources regarding movements are often absent or oblique. Scholars cannot study the travelling humans directly, but examine them through the prism of writings by or about them, or the material and immaterial things that moved with them: clothing, valuables, language, and customs. As these articles show, evidence such as material culture, language change, and onomastics can be critical in tracing and understanding medieval migrations, but is not always easy to interpret.

The articles in this section take different approaches to these problems. In 'Slavs but Not Slaves: Slavic Migrations to South Italy in the Early and High Middle Ages', **Zrinka Nikolić Jakus** turns her attention to two neglected issues: the question of the migration of Slavic peoples from the Dalmatian coast to Southern Italy in circumstances other than servitude, and the question of the migration of other groups to Southern Italy prior to and during the period of Norman expansion. Scholars in this area are faced, on the one hand, with the problem of a lack of documented medieval migrations between the seventh and twelfth centuries and, on the other, with a range of types of evidence for Slavic customs, Slavic personal names and toponyms, and traces of the Slavonic languages in local dialects. Drawing on these, Nikolić Jakus identifies the circumstances in which Slavic communities might have moved to the peninsula, discusses evidence for the social functioning of one known Slav community in relation to other communities, and outlines their eventual integration as a better known group of migrants, the Normans, took and consolidated control in the region.

Among the Slav migrants discussed by Nikolić Jakus, intention is largely a matter of hypothesis. Some military personnel may have moved to take part in Byzantine-Muslim wars and eventually settled, whereas in other cases the wholesale establishment of Slav communities, with their own methods of social organization, suggests 'organized colonization' (p. 286), possibly precipitated by military assaults on their homelands. **Rafał Quirini-Popławski**, in contrast, looks at the end of a period of organized colonization by the Genoese in Pera, on the Black Sea, through the prism of some of the migrating community's most prized objects: its church decorations. When the Ottomans finally conquered Constantinople in 1453, the Genoese colony of Pera across the Golden Horn considered itself under threat, and soon evacuated the most precious objects from its eighteen churches and monastic foundations, many in a two stage journey via the island of Chios. Quirini-Popławski thus investigates

a provisional evacuation that happened in a moment of insecurity and indecisiveness and became, *de facto*, a permanent move. The extraordinary documents that Quirini-Popławski discusses provide us with new perspectives on processes of colonization and decolonization and open up new questions. We might wonder whether the combination of Latin and Greek, religious and secular elements that he notes in their church decorations is suggestive of a distinctive, transcultural identity. Documents concerning items transferred from Pera to Genoa suggest, too, that particular importance was attached to the idea that these might one day return to a revived colony. Quirini-Popławski's article is a useful reminder of the fact that a deeper understanding of the experiences of migration and return can be achieved through attention to material culture. Indeed, material culture can sometimes be a better witness than narrative sources shaped by the faultiness of human memory, by conscious and unconscious rewritings or by the desire to legitimize or conceal intentions. There is undoubtedly more work to be done on the cultural roles that material culture performed for displaced peoples throughout the Middle Ages.[50]

Objects take on a wholly different significance in **Gemma Watson**'s article, 'A Herald and his Objects in Exile: Roger Machado and his Memorandum Book, 1484–85'. Through an inventory of his objects, Watson explores an otherwise undocumented period in the life of Machado, a Portuguese migrant whose travels did not end, she argues, when he settled in fifteenth-century Southampton. Watson points out that the inventory, in Machado's memorandum book for 1484–85 — the period of the Buckingham Rebellion against Richard III — contains only portable goods, thereby bearing a remarkable similarity to inventories produced for mobile households in the late medieval and early modern periods. Placing this evidence within the context of Machado's networks and other documented activities in England and overseas, Watson suggests that we need to add a hitherto unknown period of exile to the biography of this rather enigmatic, peripatetic figure. Watson suggests that Machado, accompanied by his wife — visible only through the presence of her clothes in the inventory — followed Henry Tudor into exile in France, acted as agent for other exiled rebels, and used his international connections in the wine trade to earn his living during the period. On his return to England, Machado's services

[50] Anthropologists and archaeologists have been asking such questions in general and theoretical terms for some time; see, for example, Parkin, 'Mementoes as Transitional Objects in Human Displacement'. Recent work that examines the relationship between material culture and mobility in the Middle Ages includes Baeriswyl, 'Innovation und Mobilität im Spiegel der materiellen Kultur'.

to the new king Henry VII were rewarded through the prestigious position of Richmond Herald. Watson shows that, through consideration of the practicalities of life on the road and the evidence to be found for these in unlikely places, there is scope to significantly enhance our understanding both of the mechanics of political exile and of a major historical event like the Buckingham rebellion.

Absences, Challenges, Possibilities

Gaps and imbalances of coverage are, of course, inevitable in a volume of this kind. To select a maximum of fourteen papers from the over nine hundred presented, many of which touched on the theme of travels and mobilities, was no mean task. The decision was taken to sacrifice, to some extent, coverage for consistency of focus on European travels and mobilities — a large enough subject in itself. The operation of disciplinary networks also had a role to play in dictating the volume's boundaries; the absence of Byzantine articles here, to take just one example, testifies to the existence of separate publications networks for different subsets of medieval studies. Other gaps reflect imbalances in the coverage of the Congress itself, imbalances which, in turn, reflect the trends and challenges in contemporary scholarship in the field. Among the articles that follow, relatively few deal with the earlier part of the medieval period, while a number break the traditional bounds of the end of the Middle Ages in pursuing the threads of their arguments well into the sixteenth century. While not just Rohr's essay, but also those of Metzler, Watson, and Quirini-Popławski shed light on the travels and mobilities of female as well as male subjects, women are unquestionably less visible in this collection than men, and less visible than many would wish.

In different ways, these imbalances reflect similar problems and throw down similar challenges to medievalists. Given the lower levels of documentary evidence surviving from the earlier Middle Ages, how do we shed light on mobilities, particularly those of a quotidian nature or among lower status communities? What other kinds of evidence can we bring to bear, and how can we look at our existing evidence differently, in order to avoid retreading the same ground with the same few early medieval travellers for whom we have detailed travelogues or records? The Congress and collection also raise questions about how we might extend our analysis of female mobilities in the Middle Ages. Rohr's investigation of Yolande of Aragon makes excellent use of the copious materials available concerning the well recorded itineraries of a medieval queen to consider the relationship between her travels, her gender and gendered rela-

tionships, and power. This kind of work, which does not just document women's mobilities but considers deeply their social, political, and cultural roles, could be extended. The less documented lives of women of lower status present greater challenges, however. Nonetheless, articles such as Metzler's and Watson's gesture towards under-explored possibilities: the women's clothes in Roger Machado's inventory that hint at the unacknowledged life of undocumented wife-in-exile; the disabled women and girls whose cures are recorded in miracle collections.[51]

These lacunae and challenges notwithstanding, the articles in this collection raise a number of important issues and questions, many of which recur across the volume's sections and prove pertinent to the wide range of periods, geographical regions, and political and cultural conditions addressed here. Again and again the articles gathered here demonstrate the integration of mobility into medieval everyday life at different levels of society. Mobility is a part of life for King Stephen, Yolande of Aragon, and Ivan Babonić; for Hosler, paradoxically, it is King Stephen's everyday mobility — the need to move around his country to rule — that puts paid to ideas of longer distance travel overseas. Jakobsen intentionally redirects our attention away from the much discussed long distance travels of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries and towards the integration of mobility into their daily lives and the relationship of mobility to institutional infrastructure. Metzler utilizes narratives of exceptional incidents in the lives of disabled people to shed light on their mobility in daily life and here, too, social infrastructure and material equipment is of critical importance. Rüther discusses the relationship between the routine mobility of mercenaries and their gendered identities, while Schuh turns our attention away from the long distance journeys across Europe of famous scholars in search of an outstanding education and towards increased levels of local and regional mobility that one sees in the wake of the establishment of new educational institutions.

Articles in this collection are also linked by their concern for certain important broader questions of significance to all of us. Several, for example, call into question the usefulness of binary distinctions between home and away, or the self and the foreign. Moving away from home carries the risk of a feeling of

[51] For studies of medieval pilgrimage that have shed light on questions of gender see: Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, and Rawcliffe 'Curing Bodies and Healing Souls'. Ground-breaking recent work focusing specifically on women pilgrims includes Bailey, 'Wives, Mothers and Widows on Pilgrimage'; 'Flights of Distance, Time and Fancy', and 'Modern and Medieval Approaches to Pilgrimage, Gender and Sacred Space'; Esch and Esch, 'Frauen nach Jerusalem'.

alienation, no matter how far the distance actually travelled. Several articles here touch, explicitly or obliquely, on factors that might contribute to or moderate experiences of alienation. Nordeide points out that, for papal envoys to the far north in the later Middle Ages, travel would have involved an unsettling negotiation between the familiar and the strange.[52] The success or failure of this negotiation depended on a complex interplay of factors including the formation of the individual traveller and the wider political context of his journeys. Similarity and difference in environmental situation, architecture, and food inevitably contribute to an individual traveller's senses of familiarity or foreignness, but, as both McCleery and Nordeide's articles underscore, their effects could depend very much on the strategies employed by individual travellers who encountered them. The same articles, too, problematize the binary of 'home' and 'away'. For Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, born and brought up in England, educated and entering holy orders in France and eventually living in Rome, the categories seem particularly inapposite. The essential mobility of McCleery's objects of study, Portuguese medical travellers, also undercuts the very category of 'Portuguese', while the travellers' self-descriptions and letters reveal the fluidity of the concept of home in this period of Portuguese expansion. As such seemingly fixed categories are called into question, many of these articles refocus attention on a distinct but connected issue: the implications of mobility for individual and group identities.[53]

These essays have much to teach us concerning the ways in which mobile groups and individuals in the Middle Ages encountered and addressed the experience of displacement, and its implications for their identities. Nikolić Jakus highlights the Slavic modes of social organization and community identity that Slav migrants brought with them to their new homes in southern Italy, providing an oblique glimpse of the persistence of group identities as well as evidence for their eventual absorption within and impact upon the majority culture and language. A number of the articles also show peripatetic and displaced people forming, performing, and attempting to change or preserve mobile identities in different ways. Rohr shows how not only are Yolande of Aragon's status and power were maintained and extended through her itinerancy, but how, in uniting the traditions of her natal and marital houses she forged a distinct identity

[52] For explorations of this phenomenon within the context of the German Hanse's sphere of activity see *Vertraute Ferne*, ed. by Mähnert and Selzer.

[53] This question was raised in the 1990s by anthropologists observing what they perceived as unprecedented levels of human mobility and displacement: Clifford, *Routes*.

through her mobility. Fischer demonstrates how, through its *Chronicle*, the Teutonic Order both constructed Prussia as a *locus* of pilgrimage and moulded an ideal crusader identity to appeal to nobles across Europe. Rüther finds mobility equally bound up with identity formation amongst the German landsknechts. These continually mobile German mercenaries created alternative social groups and hierarchies that closely paralleled their counterparts in settled society. In the landsknecht songs, certain of their portable objects emerge as not just practically useful but important markers of identity. This relationship between mobility, identity, and objects recurs across several essays in the collection. Schuh also points out the practical adaptations mobile scholars made to the more normative paradigm of status enhancement through property and possessions, sometimes investing their financial resources and identities in valuable but portable collections of books. Quirini-Popławski's investigation of the doubly-displaced Genoese colonists' return from Pera to Italy in the mid-fifteenth century from the perspective of their holy objects alerts us to the significance of the relationship between a moving community's objects and its identity. The Genoese-Peran colonists' portable objects functioned as links with a 'lost' place and were invested with the transcultural religious and civic identities of the Genoese colonists. Taken together, in fact, these articles repeatedly gesture towards individual and group identities inflected by mobility throughout the Middle Ages. Lost, lovingly conserved, or remoulded by people on the move, medieval group and individual identities are no more static than medieval people.

Finally, while it cannot be said that geographical mobility parallels social mobility, a pattern of relationships between the two phenomena does indeed emerge from this collection. If 'social order by inequality' ('Soziale Ordnung durch Ungleichheit' or 'Harmonie durch Ungleichheit') was the basis of medieval life, then travel could be an attempt to disrupt that order, and thus that inequality.[54] Kekez finds a persuasive correlation between Ivan Babonić's mobility and his own and his family's political influence. Jeroschin's *Chronicle of Prussia*, according Fischer's exposition, offers to the young nobility of medieval Europe the opportunity of self-transformation through travel into a truly noble pilgrim-warrior: it is mobility that makes the man. Rüther uncovers persuasive evidence that, for German mercenaries, the promise that their mobile life as landsknechts might correlate with an increase in their social status or provide a means of sidestepping a hierarchical way of life was a big attraction.

[54] Oexle, 'Konflikt und Konsens', p. 66.

In tracing the 'lost' years of herald Roger Machado, Gemma Watson links the changed status of this Herald directly to his willingness to take his portable goods into exile in the service of Henry Tudor, the future Henry VII. Mobility could give medieval people the capacity to refashion themselves socially, culturally, and economically.

Conclusion

Overall, the aim of the present volume is to provide, as best as we can in thirteen articles, a flavour of the work on 'mobility' contributed to the International Medieval 2010 and, at the same time, an overview of the key directions, topics, and concerns that preoccupy medieval research on mobility, travel, exploration, and migration. Inevitably, a volume of this kind has to be selective. Yet the collection features men and women from across Europe, travelling regionally, across borders, and intercontinentally, from a broad range of social groups, religious and secular, of different ages, the able-bodied and those with disability, with and without the intention to return. While it is undoubtedly true that mobility among certain social and economic groups, in certain periods, was sometimes conceived of in political and theological discourse as potentially transgressive, threatening, or disruptive — the students, mercenaries, mendicants, and rebels of this collection — the traveller could also be a normative or even ideal model. In the pages that follow, then, we will see how between the seventh and the sixteenth centuries, men and women, nobles, burghers and beggars, scholars and monks, and professionals of different types travelled, with varying degrees of toleration, approbation, admiration, or disapproval, across the seas and roads of Latin Europe and sometimes beyond.

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Part I

Centres and Peripheries: Travellers to and on the Margins

'Them Friars Dash About': Mendicant *Terminario* in Medieval Scandinavia

Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen

When the mendicant orders of the *fratres minores* — Franciscans — and the *fratres praedicatores* — Dominicans — were established in the early thirteenth century, the friars were not, unlike their clerical colleagues of the old monastic orders, bound by a vow of *stabilitas loci*. Within the Orders' provinces, the individual friars were moved about regularly between convents, and the leading friars and the best theologians were often sent abroad for meetings and higher education. The case of the thirteenth-century Swedish Dominican, Fr. Petrus de Dacia, exemplifies this well. Petrus first studied in Cologne and Paris, before returning to Scandinavia to work as lector in the convents of Skänninge, Västerås, and Visby.[1] We also learn from Petrus's case that it often took some planning to find the necessary *socius*, an accompanying fellow friar, who was required for any movement outside the priories, and that travelling friars carried correspondence and messages with them between convents. In some cases, leading mendicant friars might also travel long distances on behalf of the secular or ecclesiastical authorities, acting as assistants or diplomats for papal legates and kings. Others were sent to the fringes of Christendom

[1] Petrus de Dacia, *Vita Christinae*, ed. by Paulson, passim.

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BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.5.105540

and beyond as missionaries. Historiography has paid a good deal of attention to such exceptional travelling mendicants.[2]

Even for the rank-and-file friars based at one particular convent, however, mendicant life could be surprisingly mobile. All mendicant convents were engaged with *terminario*, in which friars were sent out of the home town of the convent on a combined tour of preaching and begging. Through this, the orders would both expand the pastoral reach of their mission and increase the amount of alms collected for their community. It is on this everyday mobility of the mendicants, the *terminario* — a technical term with no adequate English translation — that this article will concentrate.[3] My main focus will be the Dominican practice of *terminario* in Scandinavia, though I also include examples from the Franciscan Order and other Northern European countries. While *terminario* appears equally important for Dominican and Franciscan friars in medieval Scandinavia, the third mendicant order present in this region, the Carmelites, seem to have been less concerned with such activities beyond the cities. Moreover, while some land- and rent-possessing orders, such as the Hospitallers of St John, St Anthony, and the Holy Ghost, also travelled the Scandinavian countryside collecting alms in the late Middle Ages, their collection processes do not appear to have been combined with any pastoral tasks of importance, and thus cannot be characterized as true *terminario*. This article sets out a variety of evidence for the practice of *terminario* in medieval Scandinavia. The phenomenon was, I show, just as widespread in the North as in the rest of Europe. I argue, moreover, that the friars were generally welcomed in rural Scandinavian society, that mendicant *terminario* appears to have been as important pastorally to the remote audiences that it could reach as it was financially to the friars, and that this generally positive attitude towards the practice of mendicant *terminario* persisted right up until the eve of the Reformation.

Historiography

Since mendicant priories usually were situated within urban centres, studies of mendicant history have traditionally focused on the friars' urban activities. This urban bias is succinctly expressed by the German church historian Luzian

[2] For example Loenertz, *La societé des frères pérégrinantes*.

[3] 'Limits-of-preaching' or 'questing', for example Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, pp. 242–43; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, I, 265; O'Sullivan, *Medieval Irish Dominican Studies*, p. 165. Both tend to neglect the doubled-sided role of the *terminario*.

Pfleger, who writes that '[d]ie Seelsorge der städtischen Massenbevölkerung war der Zweck der neuen Orden. Das bäuerliche Land interessierte sie nicht.' ('The aim of the new orders was pastoral care of the urban masses. The peasant land had no interest to them.')[4] Similar preconceptions about the urban remit of the mendicants underpin specific historiography on the friars in Scandinavia, for example, in the work of Anders Andrén.[5] This view is far from being illogical. The mendicant orders originated and developed in the same period in which cities developed and spread across the map of northern Europe, and almost all mendicant priories throughout Europe were established within urban areas or just outside the city gates. According to the same scholarly tradition, it was first and foremost among the new and rising urban bourgeoisie that the mendicant orders found their main audience and support.

Several northern European studies within the last twenty-five years have, however, pointed to the importance of the *rural* activities of the friars, both economically and in pastoral terms. Even in highly urbanized regions such as England, Flanders, Alsace, the Rhineland, and along the north German coast, this rural dimension of mendicant life seems to have played an essential role.[6] In Ireland, it was indeed only possible for the mendicant orders to gain any foothold among the Irish by venturing beyond the few cities, which, after the Norman Conquest, became more or less forbidden areas for the Gaelic Irish.[7] In Poland and Scandinavia, where even the largest cities were no match for the Flemish and German ones, one would therefore expect the non-urban activities of the mendicants to have been even more important.[8] In the Dominican provincial chapter acts of sixteenth-century Poland, we have records of friars being assigned to new convents with the explicit task of practising *terminario*, probably due to particular experience with this task.[9] This is, however, exceptional; while particularly qualified teachers and preachers were often assigned to new

[4] Pfleger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg im Mittelalter*, p. 92.

[5] Andrén, *Den urbana scenen*, p. 59.

[6] Röhrkasten, 'The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society'; Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*; Rüther, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land*; Elm, *Mittelalterliches Ordensleben in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*; Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg*.

[7] O'Sullivan, *Medieval Irish Dominican Studies*, pp. 25–26 and 100.

[8] Kłoczowski, 'Dominicans of the Polish Province in the Middle Ages', p. 85; Jakobsen, 'Prædikebrødrenes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark', pp. 76–115.

[9] *Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Poloniae Ordini Praedicatorum*, I, ed. by Madura, 208, 210, and 258.

convents, where their skills were needed, I have never come across similar transfers of especially skilled *fratres pro terminario* elsewhere. In Scandinavia, however, there is some limited indication that such a specialist, permanent function might have existed amongst friars; a list of deceased friars from the Franciscan convent in Visby, on the island of Gotland (now in Sweden), gives the information that a 'frater Laurencius Jacobi terminarius' died in 1437.[10]

While several recent studies have identified the importance of *terminario* in northern European contexts for individual mendicant convents, very few scholars have paid the phenomenon any major attention. Two of the few existing studies are those of Kaspar Elm and Mattias Vöckler, and focus specifically on Augustinian hermits in Westphalia and Thuringia.[11] Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen has devoted sections of his dissertation on the Franciscans in Scandinavia to the topic, while I have looked at the phenomenon in my doctoral dissertation on the Dominicans in Denmark.[12] An extensive survey of mendicant *terminario* in the Middle Ages is still lacking.

The Origin and Terminology of Mendicant Terminario

Traditional historiographical accounts of the mendicant orders rightly assert that their attentions were initially focused on cities. This is documented by two of the Orders' most prominent thirteenth-century figures, the Franciscan minister general Bonaventure and the Dominican master general Humbert of Romans. Both of these leaders' prescriptions for the work of their brethren limit that work to the cities. That the need for sermons was especially big in the cities is explained by Humbert in the 1260s with typical Dominican logic:

> Rationes autem quare sic faciendum est sunt iste: In civitatibus sunt plures quam in aliis locis et ideo melius est ibi predicare quam alibi sicut melius est facere elemosynam pluribus quam paucioribus. Item ibi sunt plura peccata [...]. Item minora loca, que sunt circa civitates, magis conformantur civitatibus, quam e converso, et ideo fructus predicationis qui fit in civitate magis derivatur ad ista loca quam e con-

[10] *Annales Suecici medii aevi*, ed. by Paulsson, p. 333.

[11] Elm, *Mittelalterliches Ordensleben in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*; M. Vöckler, 'Einige Anmerkungen zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Termineien der Bettelmönche im mittelalterlichen Thüringen'.

[12] Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner in den nordischen Ländern im Mittelalter*, pp. 311–16; Jakobsen, 'Prædikebrødrenes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark', pp. 76–115; Jakobsen, '"De tiggermunke fare omkring..."'.

> verso et ideo magis conandum est facere fructum per predicationes in civitatibus quam in aliis locis minoribus.
>
> The reasons for this are as follows: In the cities live more people than elsewhere, thus, it is better to preach there than elsewhere, just like it is better to give alms to many than to few. Likewise, more sins exist there [...]. Furthermore, smaller towns in the vicinity of larger cities are more influenced by the latter than vice versa, therefore the good effect of sermons in the city will diffuse to these places more than the reverse. Thus, one should aim to obtain the best results by preaching in the cities rather than in smaller places.[13]

However, it does not follow, as claimed by Pfleger, that 'peasant land' was of no interest to the mendicants.[14] Even though almost all mendicant priories were situated in cities and towns, both mendicant generals also gave thought to the question of how to reach rural people. Their ideas on how this was to happen differed a little. Bonaventure, writing around the same time as Humbert, saw the cities as centres for the peasants of the hinterland, who occasionally would visit the city markets. They would return from these with, in addition to the temporal produce, solid spiritual goods from Franciscan preachers.[15] Humbert of Romans, on the other hand, did not think in terms of Bonaventure's economic model. Rather, he saw larger cities as role models for smaller towns and the rural countryside. If Dominican friars could improve Christian knowledge and behaviour in the cities, people from towns and villages would, he believed, automatically try to imitate such improvements.[16]

Although Bonaventure and Humbert thought that good mendicant preaching by itself would eventually spread into the countryside, one way or the other, both their orders, around the middle of the thirteenth century, took to more proactive tactics to ensure the wider diffusion of spiritual goods. At the general chapter of the Franciscan Order in 1260 it was decided that all convents should have a certain geographical area attached to them for the collection of alms and for preaching, and the connection between the two tasks was explic-

[13] Humbert of Romans, 'Sermones ad laicos in civitatibus', *De eruditione praedicatorum*, II. 1, no. 72. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 31; Röhrkasten, 'The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society', pp. 337–38.

[14] Pfleger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg im Mittelalter*, p. 92.

[15] Bonaventura, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 340. Röhrkasten, 'The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society', pp. 338–39.

[16] This difference between the two mendicant generals is identified by Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, p. 70.

itly stressed.[17] From 1243, general chapters of the Dominican Order prohibited friars of one province to preach and collect alms in other provinces, and in 1245 we have the first reference to a rural district attached to a specific convent. However, just as was the case with the Franciscans, it was not until the 1260–70s that *terminario* really emerged as a particular concern of the Dominican general chapters.[18] At the chapter of 1280 it was finally agreed that each Dominican convent was to have a clearly defined district in which only its friars were allowed to work, and it was further provided that they were not allowed to cross the border into the neighbouring convents' districts without permission. The exact determination of these borders, the *termini*, led to numerous discussions and conflicts between the convents involved, something which was usually left to the provincial chapters to sort out.[19]

The term for the limited area in which each convent was allowed to preach and collect alms, was *terminus* or *terminarium*. In most northern European languages the equivalent term became *termin* or similar, indicating '*terminario*-area', whereas the most used English phrase seems to be 'limitation' or 'limits-of-preaching'. When friars were sent out to preach and beg in the *terminus*, they performed the *terminario* or 'walked the *terminum*'; the most common Danish noun and verb are *terminering* and *terminere*, which have similar forms in Norwegian, Swedish, German, and Dutch. The friar who performed the *terminario* was called a *terminarius*, which in Scandinavia and Germany became a *terminsbruder*, alternatively *bud* ('delivery man', 'messenger') or 'sack brother'. In French, he was called a *terminaire*, whereas the most widespread English terms seem to be 'limiter' and 'questor'.[20] In the following, I will use the Latin terminology.

[17] Rüther, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land*, p. 104.

[18] *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, III, 25–28 and 33. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, pp. 80–81.

[19] For the Franciscans as well as the Dominicans, the convents of the three Scandinavian kingdoms formed the province of Dacia. In 1500, this comprised forty-eight Franciscan and thirty-three Dominican convents. Both orders also had four convents for sisters. Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner in den nordischen Ländern im Mittelalter*; Gallén, *La Province de Dacie de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*.

[20] For the terminology in different languages, see for instance Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, I, 265–70 and O'Sullivan, *Medieval Irish Dominican Studies*, passim (English); Martin, *Les ordres mendiants en Bretagne* (French); Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*; and Bakker, *Bedelorden en begijnen in de stad Groningen tot 1594* (Dutch); Elm, *Mittelalterliches Ordensleben in Westfalen und am Niederrhein* (German); Jakobsen, 'Prædikebrødrenes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark', pp. 78–79 (Danish).

The Pastoral Dimension of Terminario

One of the main responsibilities of the mendicant friar, especially for the Dominican 'Friars Preachers', was to preach the Word of God. In high and late medieval Europe, there was a generally perceived need for qualified preachers, perhaps not least in Northern Europe, where preaching seems to have played a rather secondary role in the pastoral activities of most bishops, canons, and parish priests. Besides a shortage in both quantity and quality of secular preachers, it would seem that most secular priests concentrated their efforts on celebrating mass and the Divine Office and administering the sacraments.[21] Indeed, it would even seem that many bishops made use of Dominican preachers to comply with Canon 10 of the Forth Lateran Council (1215), which required them to promote more preaching in their dioceses. In Poland, for instance, Bishop Michael of Wloclawek explicitly stated that he himself was unable to personally discharge his duties as preacher and pastor, and he therefore ceded that duty to the Dominicans, granting them extensive privileges in his diocese.[22] And when Bishop Hugues of Liège in 1229 explicitly invited the Dominicans to establish themselves in his diocese, he did so in the expectation that the friars would help in spreading the Word of God, hear confessions and administer the Holy Mass.[23]

Just how often the medieval laity had opportunity to hear sermons has been a matter of great discussion among church historians. Anything from three sermons a year to one every day has been proposed, and indeed the figure probably differed significantly from region to region or even from parish to parish.[24] Often, one priest had to take care of all the pastoral tasks in several parishes, leaving him little time for preaching in each particular place. Nonetheless, a list of nuisances complained of by the local parish priest in one parish in fifteenth-century Germany suggests that impediments to his preaching were of a different nature. The list does not include the amount of work, but points to the

[21] For example, D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*; Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*.

[22] Kłoczowski, 'Dominicans of the Polish Province in the Middle Ages', pp. 75–76.

[23] Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, p. 115.

[24] D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 14–15; Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 48; Johansson, 'Predikan', p. 424; Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Âge*, passim; Molland, 'Predikan', pp. 427–28; Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 77–78; Riising, 'Predikan', pp. 426–27; Vöckler, 'Einige Anmerkungen zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Termineien der Bettelmönche im mittelalterlichen Thüringen', p. 9.

presence of mendicant preachers in his church during services, who, he alleged, stood ready to ridicule him for his lack of preaching skills.[25] All this notwithstanding, most studies indicate that mendicant friars — and Dominicans and Franciscans in particular — addressed an actual need and demand for more and better sermons in every corner of society, including the countryside.

Whereas modern church historians traditionally tend to focus on the competition between the secular church and the mendicants, it is a somewhat neglected fact that in a similar number of sources, friars were invited — often even obliged — by bishops and parish priests to give sermons in secular churches at recurrent intervals. Bishops often encouraged parish priests to invite mendicant friars to preach in their churches, and if they did not comply, they might risk trouble with their own parishioners. The people of Colyton parish in England in 1301 wrote to the bishop in Exeter to complain that their present vicar, unlike his predecessor, did not invite friars to come and teach them about how to save their souls.[26] In Denmark, we have a letter dated 1489 describing how parishioners of two parishes in a rather remote part of northern Jutland themselves had invited mendicant preachers to preach in their churches, against the will of the church owner.[27] On the whole, however, Dominican and Franciscan friars travelled the countryside on their own initiative in order to find an audience.

Mendicant preaching outside the priories mainly took place in parish churches and was usually announced in advance.[28] The numerous smaller chapels spread around medieval society were obvious sites for a mendicant sermon, and, to some extent, sermons were also given in secular buildings, such as castles and manors, or even out in the open, for instance at marketplaces, by bridges or mills, or where ever people were inclined to gather for some reason or another. In the Flemish village of Te Wachtebeke, for instance, there was a long tradition of giving outdoor sermons at an ancient castle rampart of local cultic importance.[29] Here, the friars found themselves some sort of platform, from where they could be seen and heard by a large number of people. Some preachers are known to have brought with them a portable podium. Indeed,

[25] Riising, *Danmarks middelalderlige prædiken*, pp. 34–35.

[26] D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 40.

[27] DM 5, 11, 206–207; DOPD 1489 13/1.

[28] Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Âge*, p. 213; Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, pp. 194–97; Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 20.

[29] Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, p. 197.

one particularly well prepared prominent Franciscan preacher in Bavaria had a podium equipped with a pent roof, to give the preacher shelter from rain or sun during the sermon. A weathervane was attached to the top of the roof, to enable the audience to find the best possible location in which to stand to hear the sermon.[30]

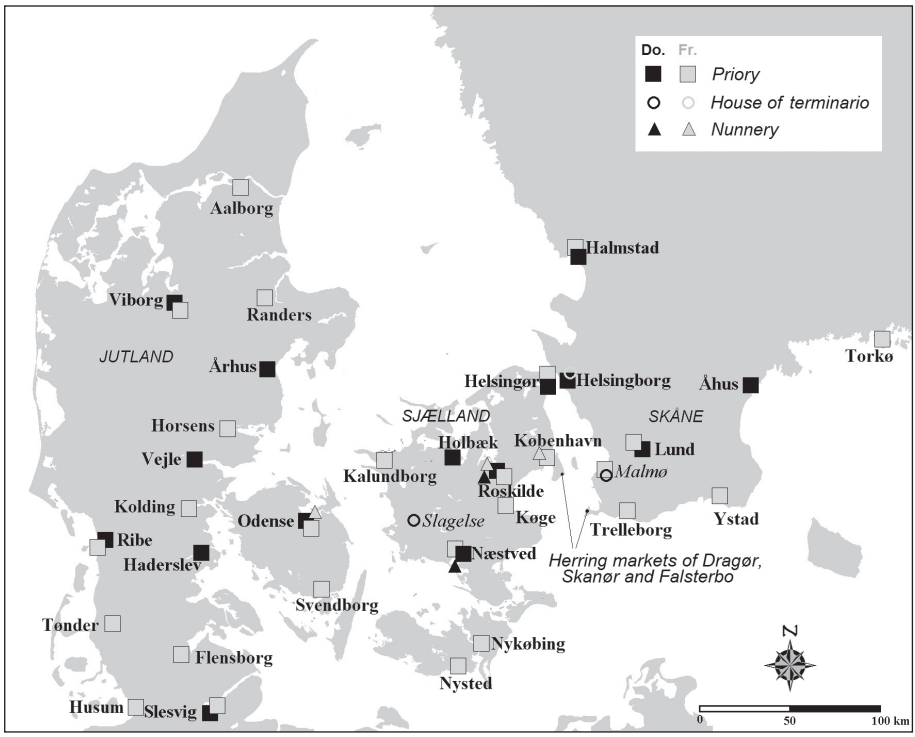
Terminario *and Pastoral Care in the Scandinavian Sources*

Direct references to mendicant *terminario* are generally scarce throughout Europe. Those that exist largely take the form of the mendicant orders' internal acts concerning conflicts between different convents. In addition to this, a number of indirect references in diplomas, account books, and the like to mendicant friars turning up in places away from their home convents explicitly prove or strongly indicate an instance of *terminario*. Both these varieties of evidence are, however, perhaps even scarcer in Scandinavia than in Western and Central Europe due to a general shortage of preserved written sources from the Middle Ages. But while we might lack large numbers of references to *fratres terminarii* in Scandinavia, those references we have suggest friars travelling extraordinary distances. Dominican and Franciscan preachers are known to have functioned in the northernmost parts of Jutland in the 1480s, about ninety kilometres distance from the closest Franciscan convent in Aalborg and one hundred and seventy-five kilometres from the nearest Dominican house.[31] In the northern parts of the province of Dacia, Dominican *fratres terminarii* covered even greater distances. In the late 1330s, friars from Nidaros (today Trondheim), Norway, asked the Swedish archbishop for permission to go to Jämtland, not only situated a couple of hundred kilometres from Nidaros, but separated from the Norwegian coast by very mountainous and hostile terrain.[32] The application specifies that the *terminario* was to be performed by two friars, as was obligatory for all mendicant travelling, in this case a consecrated priest and a novice. The priest, Fr Arne Larsson, was to say mass, preach, hear confession and issue penances, and both friars were to collect alms and contributions to the repair of the priory buildings back home in Nidaros. A special mention for the greatest distance known to have been travelled in *terminario*, however, must go to an unnamed friar from Bergen, Norway, who, to the surprise of a

[30] Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 107.

[31] See note 27.

[32] DS IV, no. 3405; DOPD 1338–39.



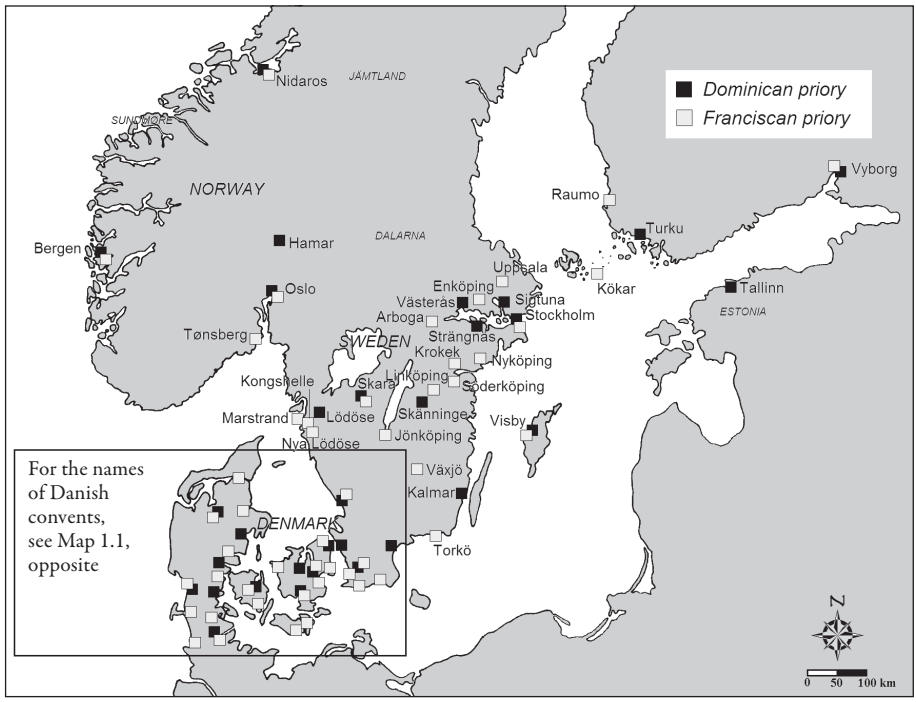
Map 1.1. Locations of Dominican and Franciscan houses in medieval Denmark (map by the author).

shipwrecked Italian merchant, Pietro Quirini, could be found in the winter of 1431–32 on the south coast of Lofoten, one thousand kilometres from his house.[33] According to Quirini, the Dominican worked as a priest for the small community of fishermen during the winter, for which he was paid in rye bread and fish.

The example from Lofoten brings up the question of how large a *terminus* could be. Studies from all over Europe show that the sizes of *terminii* differed considerably, depending on the distances between convents and the attractiveness of places in between in terms of potential audience.[34] As indicated by the

[33] Pietro Quirini, 'Viaggio del magnifico messer Piero Qvirino', ed. by Ramusio, pp. 203–04 (trans. in Wold, *I paradisets første krets*, pp. 138–44); DOPD 1432 Feb–May. Gallén, 'Kökar, klosterbröderna och havet', p. 145.

[34] Bakker, *Bedelorden en begijnen in de stad Groningen tot 1594*, pp. 63 and 78; Elm, *Mittelalterliches Ordensleben in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*, p. 157; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, I, 265–68; Martin, *Les ordres mendiants en Bretagne*, pp. 64



Map 1.2. Locations of Dominican and Franciscan priories in both orders' medieval province of Dacia (map by the author).

term itself, *terminario* was intended to bring the friars all the way out to the very limit (the *terminus*) of the district allocated to an individual convent, and numerous recorded conflicts about *terminario* between convents only show too well just how seriously these limits were taken. But whereas the geography and medieval demography of Denmark, in the southern part of Scandinavia, would make it possible and relevant for the friars to visit every part of the kingdom, which was rather densely packed with convents of both mendicant orders, a different situation must have prevailed in the northern-most parts of the province. The convents in Bergen, Nidaros, Sigtuna, Uppsala, Turku, Vyborg, and Tallinn were all situated on the very fringes of Christian Europe, and in some directions had practically no *terminii* for their endeavours. Examples of Dominican *terminario* from Bergen (to Lofoten), Nidaros (to Jämtland), Sigtuna (to the

and 196; Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, pp. 71–72; Vöckler, 'Einige Anmerkungen zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Termineien der Bettelmönche im mittelalterlichen Thüringen', p. 5.

Svenska høgar), and Tallinn (to far inland Estonia) suggest that Nordic *fratres terminarii* were indeed prepared to go far.

Alongside these specific, but sometimes accidental references to *terminario*, a number of incidents in which Scandinavian mendicants are reported outside their home towns are suggestive of the practice, although the term is not explicitly used. Evidence exists from 1527, for instance, of a violent attack on a Dominican friar from the convent of Vejle in western Denmark on the road to northern Jutland. The friar had with him a horse and carriage, which would be indicative of a *terminario*, since such means for transportation only were allowable for mendicant friars for the purpose of carrying goods.[35] The dietary side of *terminario* is treated in a papal bull of 1326, in which Pope John XXII allowed the Dominicans in Dacia to eat meat, even though this was against rule and customs of their order. This dispensation only applied, however, while they were travelling the countryside, preaching and hearing confessions.[36] The reason given for this dispensation was that the pope had learned that the poor friars in the infertile and inhospitable Scandinavia had been forced to eat bread made of rye, barley and even bark, and thus returned to the convents from such journeys more dead than alive. The bull unfortunately does not state exactly what was considered a proper diet for a travelling friar, but it obviously was not rye bread, the staple food of most Scandinavians even today.

A suggestion of the familiarity of mendicant *terminario* in late medieval rural Sweden is provided by a Brigittine sermon that concerns a mendicant friar, described as preaching and hearing confessions 'as customs were' in a fictional parish church during Lent.[37] Whilst the incident related is, of course, a sermonal fiction, the wording nonetheless shows that such scenes were probably familiar to the audience of the sermon. Another possible indication of Dominican *terminario* in Scandinavia can be found in mural paintings. In the Swedish archdiocese of Uppsala, late medieval wall-paintings with Franciscan and Dominican motifs can be found in numerous parish churches throughout the diocese. Especially popular, apparently, were St Francis himself and the Dominican St Peter Martyr. Since similar paintings in parish churches are considerably rarer in the rest of Scandinavia, their frequency in the Uppsala region could indicate that the pastoral importance of mendicant *fratres terminarii* was particularly strong in this northernmost and rather remote diocese of Sweden,

[35] DM 2, v, 220; DOPD 1527.

[36] DD 2, ix, no. 308; DOPD 1326 21/8.

[37] *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, iv, 211–12; DOPD 1475–1500.

perhaps even pointing to otherwise unknown houses of *terminario* in Bureå (Franciscan) and Norrtälje (Dominican), around which localities such mural paintings are especially concentrated.[38]

Mendicant *terminario* is also referred to in various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scandinavian secular church statutes. Such mentions usually take the form of restrictions, but not always. In the late fifteenth century, Archbishop Johannes Brostrup of Lund recommended friars 'walking the *termin*' to his parish priests, probably after the local mendicant convents had undergone an internal observant reform, a change that apparently boosted their public image significantly.[39] Bishop Eggert Durkop of Schleswig (1489–99) was so enthusiastic about the mendicant reform efforts that he recommended all his parish priests to receive such friars, when they came with letters from their superiors, with care and hospitality. However, without letters showing that they were allowed to do the *terminario*, they were not to be permitted to preach or beg; apparently, some friars were known to have attempted this. No friar was permitted to stay in the same place for more than a fortnight. It was also stressed that no parish priest was allowed to hire a mendicant friar as a chaplain or a vicar without prior confirmation from his bishop.[40] This latter restriction is somewhat surprising, since we otherwise have extremely few examples of mendicant friars officially occupying pastoral offices of the secular church, and none of them from Scandinavia. The acts of a probate court case from 1528 tell of a Dominican friar of the convent in Wismar, northern Germany, who was stationed as parish vicar in the village Lübow, for which his convent received the parish tithes, and in Alsace, Dominican preachers were so common in the rural vicarages that their presence apparently were more the rule than the exception.[41]

The main pastoral task of mendicant *fratres terminarii* was to give sermons. This raises the question of what Christian message the mendicant preachers wanted to deliver to the rural population in medieval Scandinavia. The basic

[38] Nilsén, *Program och funktion i senmedeltida kalkmåleri*, pp. 436–37; Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden*, pp. 85 and 103–04.

[39] Lindbæk, *De danske Franciskanerklostre*, p. 30.

[40] Lindbæk, *De danske Franciskanerklostre*, pp. 30–31.

[41] Kleiminger, *Das Schwarze Kloster in Seestadt Wismar*, pp. 87–88 (Lübow); Rüther, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land*, pp. 112–13 and 221 (Alsace). A Dominican tithe income was also common in Ireland, but the exact meaning of this is uncertain (O'Sullivan, *Medieval Irish Dominican Studies*, p. 167); mendicant preachers certainly often gave sermons in the rural parishes, where a general lack of parish priests is well documented (according to the paper by Sparky Booker, Trinity College Dublin, at International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2011).

mendicant message for everyone, regardless of social class, was the necessity to repent and confess one's sins, and to be generous towards the poor, a group that included, of course, the mendicants themselves. Besides this, the Dominican master general Humbert of Romans advised the preacher to warn ordinary lay folk against tackling any deep theological questions, which were better left to the professionals.[42] A daily recital of the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* along with the Creed, combined with a humble, obedient, and disciplined way of living, according to Humbert, were all that was to be asked for from simple folk. Furthermore, the peasant should feel proud of his occupation, since he was doing what the Lord originally had planned for us all, and he should be grateful that the work always kept him busy; his constant occupation left less time for sin.

By performing pastoral services for the rural lay community, mendicant friars were encroaching on the territory of the secular parish priest. One might expect the two ecclesiastical groups to have been bitter competitors, and this is certainly the impression given in earlier historiography on the subject. However, while the case, alluded to above, of the German priest accusing mendicants of ridicule suggests hostility in some quarters, a number of recent studies show that levels of competition between the secular clergy and the mendicants have been highly exaggerated.[43] Moreover, where conflicts are attested, attention needs to be paid to the detail of their causes. The function of preaching, which apparently was less vital to ordinary parish priests, rarely seems to have led to disputes. When these did occur, it was usually in the cities, when friars preached in their own churches at the same time as secular priests preached in the parish churches. In most cases, rural parish vicars seem to have welcomed the visits and the company of friars, although the examples mentioned above from England and Germany show that not all secular priests felt alike. Mendicant friars on the *terminario*, however, did not just preach. They also performed other pastoral tasks. A central element of mendicant sermons was the importance of confessing, and from an early stage, mendicant friars did not restrict themselves to preaching about confession: they also heard confession and assigned penances. Three church-synodal statutes from Sweden in the

[42] Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, II. 1, nos 71 and 78 (1677 edn, pp. 491 and 494–95). Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp. 161–63.

[43] For example, Bakker, *Bedelorden en begijnen in de stad Groningen tot 1594*, p. 76; Burgess, 'Friars and the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', pp. 85–86; Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 91; Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, pp. 186–87; Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg*, pp. 270 and 275–76.

period 1350–1440 indicate that at least some Swedish parish priests apparently voluntarily left the hearing of confessions in their parishes to mendicant friars, which led the bishops to stress that such sacramental outsourcing required episcopal permission.[44] Others among the secular clergy, though, certainly did not approve, seeing the sacrament of confession, absolution, and penance as an essential part of the local parish priest's pastoral tasks. In Tallinn, Estonia, a document from around 1509–17 lists eight complaints raised by the secular clergy against the pastoral practices of the local Dominicans.[45] Among the issues were the friars' right to preach and to use portable altars, to hear confessions, and to baptize children. The latter is a rather unusual function to find within the pastoral portfolio of the mendicants. Not only was this sacramental intrusion apparently done without the proper episcopal authority, it furthermore led to the risk of rebaptism when the infants later on were introduced to the parish church. The same document is exceptionally interesting, moreover, in that it also contains the Dominican response. On the whole, the Dominican convent defended itself by pointing to the huge distances between parish churches in the Estonian diocese. For many peasant families, the nearest parish church was not just far away; the road would usually go through dark and unsafe forests, full of beasts and bandits, and a long frosty winter made travelling with small infants even more difficult and dangerous. Therefore, the friars claimed, many Estonian infants would be at a high risk of dying before being baptized, or might even die on their very way to church for baptism, if Dominican *fratres terminarii* from Tallinn were not to undertake this important sacramental task.

Conflicts Regarding Terminario *and its Economic Dimension*

Pastoral care was not, of course, the only aim of the *terminario*. The economic dimension of the practice must also be considered in order to fully understand its importance. Just how essential it appears to have been for the survival of the convents is perhaps best illustrated by the numerous accounts of intensive conflicts between convents — usually within the individual orders — regarding the right to perform *terminario* in especially attractive locations. In cities where one of the mendicant orders for some reason did not have a convent

[44] *Synodalstatuter och andre kyrkorättsliga aktstycken från den svenska medeltidskyrkan*, ed. by Gummerus, nos. 25, 2 and 9; DOPD, *c.* 1350, 1396 14/3 and 1440 1/3.

[45] *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland*, IX, 26–30; DOPD 1509–17.

of its own, that order was still likely to send friars on *terminario* every now and then. A classic example of this in Scandinavia is the city of Stockholm, Sweden, which until around 1340 had only a Franciscan convent. This did not mean, however, that the Friars Minor had the Swedish capital completely to themselves. The nearby Dominican convents in Sigtuna and Strängnäs argued extensively over the right to send *fratres terminarii* to the growing city.[46] Less crowded economic centres also attracted the attentions of the friars. In 1488, Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson of Uppsala licensed a Dominican friar from the convent of Sigtuna to go to the fishery of Svenska høgar on the Swedish east coast, about fifty kilometres from Sigtuna, to collect alms among the fishermen due to the poverty of his convent.[47]

The most important fishing centre of northern Europe was the region comprising the herring markets in eastern Denmark around the narrow strait Øresund, especially at Skanør and Falsterbo on the west coast of Skåne. This too was a focus of mendicant attention, as all these fishermen and merchants, along with all the people gathered to provide services for them, still needed a good sermon and other pastoral care even if they were far away from their home parish. *Fratres terminarii* from the neighbouring mendicant convents on each side of Øresund were sent to the herring markets during the season, which lasted for about two to four months in late summer and autumn. The Dominican convent in Roskilde, Denmark, even built a chapel on the market in Dragør on the western side of the strait.[48] However, to the regret of the Danish mendicants, many German visitors brought mendicant friars with them from the Hanseatic cities back home, probably using the German market-place chapels for their pastoral functions. Evidence indicates, however, that more profane and secular edifices were sometimes used in mendicant services; Danish Dominicans in 1383 complained that their German colleagues allegedly celebrated Holy Mass in a butcher's tent.[49] The Dominican convent of Lund (in medieval Denmark, now Sweden) zealously tried to keep its fellow German brethren out of the Scanian herring markets throughout the late Middle Ages, and, even when the strife was brought to provincial level between the priors provincial of Dacia and Saxonia, with the master general trying to mediate an agreement, the issue was never

[46] DS II, no. 1475; DD 2, V, no. 380; DOPD 1305 17/7 and *c.* 1305 22/8.

[47] Jonson, *Skärgårdshav*, pp. 19–20; DOPD 1488 17/7.

[48] *Ældste Danske Archivregistraturer*, IV, 76; DOPD 1488.

[49] DD 4, II, no. 370; DOPD 1383 2/8.

really settled.[50] Local Franciscans also had to tolerate foreign brethren of their order in Falsterbo, some even with permanent houses and chapels in the market-place area, and as late as 1519, the Franciscan convent of Gdańsk sent two friars with the city merchants to Falsterbo 'nach alter Sitte und Gewohnheit [...] auf deren Bitte, zu Gottesdienst und Predigt' ('according to old custom on their request for Mass and sermons').[51] On a general level, the Hansa merchants from Holstein and Mecklenburg seem to have preferred Dominican priests, whereas the Pomeranian, Prussian, and Dutch merchants held closer ties with the Franciscans. The idea of bringing mendicant friars along on ship voyages as marine *fratres terminarii* was not restricted to Hanseatic skippers, however. At the Dominican general chapter in 1498, the prior of Helsingør in Denmark was ordered to take firm action against those of his *fratres terminarii* who allegedly sailed with pirates.[52] Medieval piracy was, however, a relative matter; such activities could be legitimized and even encouraged by local authorities (in this case the king of Denmark against the Hanseatic League). Seen from the convent of Helsingør, the business of the Dominicans' naval hosts was probably quite legitimate.

Obviously, mendicant convents' conflicts over *terminario* were not solely about the right to preach. Regardless of whether mendicant preachers were men who took their profession seriously and felt an urgent need to make sure that the right interpretation of God's will was passed on to people in their *terminarium*, they hardly had reason to believe that their brethren from neighbouring convents and provinces were incompetent or heretical. Such disputes, then, were clearly related less to the pastoral and more to the economic dimension of *terminario*.

The economic interest of the countryside for the mendicants was based on the fact that their convents were in constant need of alms from as many people as possible. Unlike the old monastic orders, the mendicant orders were not allowed by their constitutions to own any rent-giving property, and, although this prohibition was not always observed to the letter, it nonetheless made the friars completely dependent on continued financial aid from the outside world. Besides major one-off donations and annual payments for saying masses, Dominican and Franciscan friars earned their mendicant label by being actual

[50] Jakobsen, 'Prædikebrødrenes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark', pp. 88–91.

[51] Schäfer, *Das Buch des lübeckischen Vogts auf Schonen*, p. CXLVI.

[52] *Registrum Generalis Magistri Ordinis Predicatorum (Dacie)*, ed. by Karlsson, ch. IV:7 no. 9, pp. 42–43; DOPD 1498 10/6.

beggars, dependent on alms from their fellow Christians. In order to gain charitable donations from as many people as possible, the friars needed to seek alms beyond their hometowns. The rural preaching campaign of the *terminario* was therefore combined with collection of alms, including money, food and other necessary supplies, all of which was brought back home to the convent.

Christmas, Lent and the time of harvest seem to have been particularly popular periods in which to send out the friars.[53] Usually, the friars received any kind of surplus that their benefactors could spare, depending on the prevailing economic conditions. In Ireland, the almsgiving to the friars was especially well organized, as several lay magnates had a part of their landed estate explicitly reserved for grain to be given to the *fratres terminarii*; some friendly landowners even had their alms conveyed to the barns of the convents if the friars could not manage to collect them.[54] The few explicit references to the friars who accompanied the actual preachers suggest that they were often lay brothers or young friars; these companions would have taken care of the begging and collection of alms.[55] The *fratres terminarii* sometimes brought with them a carriage for the alms they collected, in some cases even drawn by a horse. A papal bull from 1297 offers a glimpse into the travelling lives of the mendicants, as Bishop Johannes Krag of Roskilde was castigated for having torn down a shed situated on a busy high road in the diocese and used by Franciscan friars, 'in qua fratres ipsi panem a transeuntibus mendicantes recipiebant, se tempore pluviarum' ('in which, in times of rain, those friars used to beg bread from those passing by').[56]

An indication of the economic importance of *terminario* to the mendicant orders in medieval Scandinavia can be found in the fact that one of the most important restrictions imposed on the orders at the time of the Lutheran Reformation concerned this very issue. When King Gustav Vasa in 1527 limited mendicant *terminario* to two periods of five weeks in each year, this was apparently the final deathblow to the mendicant orders in Sweden; virtually all Swedish Franciscan and Dominican convents died out in the following year.[57]

[53] Martin, *Les ordres mendiants en Bretagne*, p. 211.

[54] O'Sullivan, *Medieval Irish Dominican Studies*, p. 166.

[55] As in the aforementioned example from Nidaros, where the convent in the 1330s sent a preacher and a novice to Jämtland. DS IV, no. 3405; DOPD 1338–39.

[56] DD 2, IV, no. 263.

[57] *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, IV, 242–43; DOPD 1527 25–27/6 (e). Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 90–97 and 112–15.

Accommodating the Scandinavian Fratres Terminarii

Mendicant friars, just like monks and canons regular, were obliged by their rule and constitutions to live in communities in their monastic homes, the priories, where they spent the night in mutual company and brotherly surveillance in the common dormitory. But for the mendicant *fratres terminarii*, it was often practically impossible to cover the entire *terminarium* and yet be back in the priory before nightfall. In a province like Dacia, distances between convents — and, thus, the size of the *terminii* — could be very extensive. In central Sweden and Norway, the borders of the districts could easily be one hundred or two hundred kilometres from the convent, for the northern Scandinavian convents significantly more. Friars selected for the *terminario*, therefore, were soon dispensed from the obligations of sleeping and eating in the company of their fellow brethren. This, though, raises the question of where the friars then found their lodgings during the *terminario*.

In Germany and Flanders, scholars have identified several *domus terminarie*: houses in the possession of a convent in a neighbouring town and village intended as accommodation for travelling friars, and among them the *fratres terminarii*.[58] Only a few such houses are documented in Scandinavia. One rare instance is found in the Danish town of Slagelse on Sjælland, where a house served as residence for a permanently posted Dominican friar from the convent in Roskilde. We only know about the house through a document from 1532, when due to financial problems, the convent had to sell it to a local parish priest, who would, however, let the friar stay as his guest.[59] *Fratres terminarii* were probably also posted in the Dominican house in Malmö, belonging to the convent in Lund. Unlike the house in Slagelse, the house in Malmö had its own chapel and cemetery and was generally referred to as a *kloster* (» priory), indicating an actual status as proto- or semi-convent. Furthermore, a number of other Dominican-owned houses and urban farms are known through written references in Scandinavia, but the usage of these houses is not specified in the documents.

[58] For example, De Pue, *Geschiedenis van het oud Dominikanenklooster te Ieper*, passim; Elm, *Mittelalterliches Ordensleben in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*, pp. 157–59 and 177; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, I, 269; Kleiminger, *Das Schwarze Kloster in Seestadt Wismar*, p. 70; Rüther, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land*, pp. 106–07; Simons, *Stad en apostolaat*, pp. 188–90; Vöckler, 'Einige Anmerkungen zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Termineien der Bettelmönche im mittelalterlichen Thüringen', p. 8.

[59] DM 1, II, 157–58; DOPD 1532 19/5.

Undoubtedly, the paucity of sources may explain the limited number of known instances of Dominican *domus terminarii* in Scandinavia. Nonetheless, I would suggest an important additional reason, namely that mendicant *fratres terminarii* in medieval Scandinavia were routinely offered accommodation by other monastic convents, rural parish priests and rural nobility. In his instructions to the Dominican friars on how to live and behave, Humbert of Romans explicitly stated that whenever a Franciscan friar came to their town in need of food and shelter, the Dominicans should welcome him warmly to their priory and caringly wash his tired feet.[60] To what extent this hospitable instruction was followed in real life cannot be determined, but we do have one indication of a Dominican friar staying in a Franciscan priory. According to an *exemplum* from England preserved in a Danish (non-mendicant) sermon collection from 1515, three Dominican friars from Derby once were accommodated in a Franciscan priory in a neighbouring town during a journey.[61] The story relates that although one of the visiting friars became sick there and eventually died, his friendly and caring hosts were certainly not to blame. The circulation of stories of this kind in Scandinavia suggests that mutual accommodation between the two orders was not considered particularly unusual.

Other evidence indicates that *fratres terminarii* also took up lodgings outside religious orders. In one of the earliest references to mendicant *terminario* in Scandinavia, in 1246, a papal bull granted permission to the Friars Preachers to visit and stay with people outside the order even if their hosts had been excommunicated.[62] In Scandinavia and Poland it appears that the rural gentry in particular both constituted an important audience for Dominican *terminario*, and an important source for accommodation. No other lay group in society is recorded to have supported the Order of Preachers so frequently with both money and sons, and, on several occasions, Dominican friars appear as witnesses in letters for the gentry, apparently written whilst the friar was staying as a guest.[63]

A form of accommodation used more commonly still by mendicant *fratres terminarii* in medieval Scandinavia was the vicarages. In 1261, another papal bull, issued by Alexander IV, permitted friars to visit and live with clergy, even when these had been excommunicated for living with concubines, an appar-

[60] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 30.

[61] Steidl, *Vor Frues Sange fra Danmarks Middelalder*, pp. 114–15.

[62] DS 1, no. 323; DOPD 1246 27/6.

[63] Jakobsen, 'Prædikebrødrenes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark', pp. 97–98.

ently very widespread and persistent problem among the secular parish clergy throughout Scandinavian Middle Ages.[64] In the synodal statutes of Bishop Ulrik Stygge of Århus in Denmark of 1443, it is explicitly ordered that mendicant *fratres terminarii* indeed should live with the local parish priest, so that the priest might better control the number and legitimacy of travelling preachers visiting the parish.[65] In addition, it is possible that *terminario* provided an important opportunity for the Dominican Order to influence and improve the theological understanding and communication skills of the parish clergy in medieval Scandinavia. Friars, staying a number of nights in the home of the parish priest after giving a sermon in the local church, could provide teaching to the incumbent in his own home.

The Scandinavian source material also contains numerous other indications of the sometimes close relations between the mendicant orders and the rural clergy. Mendicant dependence on such secular-ecclesiastical hospitality is much in evidence in a Dominican letter of complaint to King Eirik Magnusson of Norway from around 1290.[66] The canons secular of the cathedral chapter in Bergen had for years used every means possible to fight their Dominican neighbours, and now they had apparently issued a prohibition on all parish priests in the diocese, forbidding them to allow Dominican friars into their houses, to give them food or shelter, and to allow them to beg for alms in their parishes. The friars of Bergen argued that such prohibitions would soon undermine their very livelihood. In one particular case from Norway, we learn that vicarages were not just used for accommodation by travelling mendicant friars, but also as storage houses for their collected alms. In 1528, a Franciscan friar Peter of the convent in Nidaros had performed the *terminario* in the district of Sundmøre, during which the parish priest, Master Matthew of Ørskog, had agreed to let him use the vicarage as storage place for the collected items.[67] However, when the Franciscans returned the following year to collect their goods, they found that thirty-six cheeses and a number of fox furs had mysteriously vanished.

[64] *Bullarium Danicum*, ed. by Krarup, no. 566; DOPD 1261 18/3.

[65] Lindbæk, *De danske Franciskanerklostre*, p. 30.

[66] DN II, no. 28; DOPD *c.* 1290 28/7.

[67] DN V, no. 1056.

The Lutheran Reformation and the End of Mendicant Terminario

Mendicant begging for alms is often portrayed somewhat negatively in post-medieval literature from northern Europe. Even today, the nuisance and financial burden it must have brought on the rest of medieval society is usually hinted at implicitly even in scholarly works on the friars. Certainly, the issue of *terminario*, and specifically begging for alms, became a key point of focus for Lutheran criticism of the mendicants during the time of Reformation. Due to the aggressive tone of the Lutheran writings, it is difficult to judge how much of what they claim was propaganda and how much reflected genuine discontent felt by the rural population; elements of both are perhaps present.

Lutheran as well as Humanist reformers were generally opposed to the whole idea of mendicant begging. In their eyes, it was not just unworthy of God's servants to live as beggars, but was also blasphemous to call oneself a mendicant while eating with lords, dressing in expensive robes and living in palatial priories. These 'satellites sedis romanae' ('Satellites of the Roman See'), as Erasmus termed the roaming mendicant friars, were in the view of their critics very far from the monastic ideals established by St Benedict and St Augustine for whom the vow of *stabilitas loci* was of the essence, whereas they spoke nothing of begging.[68] Similar accusations against self-imposed poverty had been raised against the mendicant orders long before Erasmus and Luther, among others by the chancellor of the University in Paris, Jean Gerson.[69]

An obvious way for Lutheran preachers to win the hearts of the peasants was to stress the unjust burden that their main theological opponents, the mendicant friars, placed upon the peasants with their hypocritical begging and false preaching on penance and indulgence, all of which was presented as a fraud intended to enrich the friars and the pope. In some instances at least, the peasants had political reasons for agreeing with the Lutherans. In Dalarna, Sweden, in 1527, when the peasants were confronted with the king's anger following the latest in a series of uprisings, at a national assembly they blamed the mendicant friars for starting it all. They claimed:

> [...] mwnkar (som fara stadz kringom rikit och tijgge) plæga føre mang fåfæng och løgnachtig tiende j bland almogen aff huilkit then meneman bedragen bliffuer [...].

[68] Erasmus, *Collected Letters*, ed. by Allen, IV, 103, no. 1033.

[69] McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, p. 211.

> Tycker oss før then skuld lickt vara ath the bliffua hema i theris closter vachthandis the tingest som them bør til gudz thiænist.[70]
>
> [...] them friars (who dash about the kingdom begging) tend to spread ignorant and mendacious tidings among the villagers, by which the common man is deceived [...]. Better was it if they stayed in their monasteries and minded their masses.

Conclusion

If the view presented by the peasants of Dalarna was genuine and representative for the rural population of Scandinavia in the 1520s and not merely the combined result of anti-fraternal propaganda and political expediency, it certainly seems to mark a significant change from the preceding centuries. Otherwise, views of mendicant *terminario* remain generally positive from the arrival of the orders right until the arrival of Lutheranism. The extant examples and indications of mendicant *terminario* in Scandinavia, compared with instances from elsewhere in northern Europe, suggest that the phenomenon was introduced in Scandinavia around the middle of the thirteenth century, just as early as elsewhere. Mendicant *fratres terminarii* were generally well liked by both parish priests and rural lay parishioners and carried out a number of pastoral functions. The pastoral dimension of *terminario* largely consisted of preaching and hearing confessions, although additional sacramental services, such as baptism, were undertaken by friars especially in the north-eastern part of the province. Hardly any Nordic neighbourhood, however remotely located in deep forests or on isolated islands, missed the occasional visits from mendicant *fratres terminarii*. Only to a limited degree did the friars establish 'houses of *terminario*' of their own; the travelling friars in Scandinavia mainly found their accommodation at manor houses, vicarages and priories of other orders. The economic importance of the rural *terminario* was crucial to the survival of the convents, just as its pastoral importance for the rooting of basic Christian knowledge among lay people in Scandinavia outside the urban communities should be properly recognized.

[70] *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, IV, 224; DOPD 1527 25–27/6 (c).

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Papal Delegations to the Edge of the World: Visits from the Papal Curia to Norway Between 1050 and 1536

Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide

Introduction

Mutual understanding between different cultures is an important factor in any international political negotiations. International communications today are facilitated by the availability of language education and communications media and technologies. The conditions of communication in the Middle Ages were very different, which raises the question of what effect these conditions, alongside factors such as environmental and cultural similarity and difference, had on intercultural communications such as negotiations. How, for instance, did travellers from the south of Europe react to the culture and living conditions they encountered in Norway, and how might their reactions have impacted upon complex intercultural communications, such as negotiations?

Torstein Jørgensen cautions against overstating the significance of geographical distance or treating it as a proxy for cultural and religious difference.

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Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder, IMR 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 31–53
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Commenting on the Mediterranean and the North in the Middle Ages, he argues that

> long distance in terms of kilometres was by no means equivalent to long distance in mentality, faith, and conduct. It is not difficult to point out distinctive features and characteristics of Scandinavian ways of life, social organisation, behaviour, and thinking in the period; but when looking at late medieval Norwegian and Icelandic societies, one also cannot escape notice of the strong imprint of an overarching common European culture, with its joint set of norms and practices.[1]

Christian life in the North during the Middle Ages, Jørgensen and others remind us, should be seen as inseparable from the universal and central authority of the Holy See.[2] Regulations set out by Canon Law contributed significantly to an endeavour to unify practice across Christian congregations.[3]

However, in spite of these unifying forces, travellers would have undoubtedly encountered significant religious, cultural, and of course environmental differences on long distance travels. By the time the Church was being established in the North it had developed over the course of a millennium in southern Europe. Norms had been established and adapted to southern European conditions. However, differences such as ecological and environmental factors made certain rules developed under southern European conditions difficult for some northern people to follow. In a letter from Archbishop Øystein in Nidaros (Trondheim) to Pope Alexander III, for instance, Øystein remarked that it was impossible for the inhabitants of an island located twelve days travel by boat from Norway (probably Iceland or Greenland) to marry a fellow islander in accordance with Canon Law, due to the high levels of consanguinity among the population, but the voyage to the nearest neighbours was prohibitively expensive.[4] Following certain rules was also difficult for monasteries and nunneries. Cistercian rules required monks and nuns to pray at sunrise and sunset all year round. Given how unequal day and night are in the north, such rules would leave very little time for sleep during the summer months.[5] While local churches might have attempted, then, to create what Peter Brown calls

[1] Jørgensen, 'At the Edge of the World', p. 29.

[2] Jaritz, Jørgensen, and Salonen, 'Introduction', pp. 1–3.

[3] For more about Canon Law in Scandinavia see Landau, 'The Importance of Classical Canon Law'.

[4] *Decretales ineditae saeculi XII*, ed. by Chodorow and Duggan, p. 149 (no. 86) = WH 406a. On the identification of the island, see Landau, 'The Importance of Classical Canon Law'.

[5] Undset, 'Klosterliv'.

'micro-Christendoms' by circulating symbolic goods and creating little Romes on a local level, they did this on their own terms.[6] Thus, the web of Christian belief was not as centred around Rome as we sometimes might think. Indeed, Brown argues that Western Christendom was marked by significant divergences: Christianity's 'principal feature [...] resided in its very diversity'.[7]

Located in the far north west, Norway was, according to mainstream medieval geography, the edge of the world. The limited first-hand evidence we have suggests that travellers from the Mediterranean to these regions experienced differences as significant. The accounts written by Italian nobleman and trader Pietro Quirini and his crew, shipwrecked on the small island of Røst, west of Lofoten in northern Norway on 5 January 1432, certainly testify to this.[8] The fishermen at Røst did not speak Italian, but the curate at Røst was a German Dominican, described in the travel narrative as an 'evil monk', who could communicate in Latin with two Flemish men in the crew.[9] Quirini's account indicates surprise at, yet acceptance of, the fact that the Norwegians he encountered could be good Christians, irrespective of their custom of taking saunas naked, male and female together.[10]

Personal accounts as detailed as that of Quirini are exceptionally rare, however. If we wish to consider the effects of cultural, religious, and environmental difference on intercultural and political communications, such as negotiations between papal representatives and local ecclesiastical and secular leaders, it is therefore necessary to consider alternative sources and bring other methodologies to bear. This article addresses the experiences and outcomes of papal delegations to Norway, considering the extent to which the country's specific physical and cultural conditions made a difference to these. While previous studies of these delegations have been based almost entirely on the very fragmentary documentary sources regarding these missions, this article supplements these with archaeological and geographical sources in order to shed more light on the nature of the cultural encounters that took place. These sources enable us to consider factors affecting the traveller's experience that do not necessarily figure in the historical record, such as the material culture that travellers encountered and the climatic conditions they would have endured. This article reconsid-

[6] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 14–15.

[7] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 17.

[8] *Querinis Reise*, ed. by Wold, pp. 178–90, 204–13.

[9] *Querinis Reise*, ed. by Wold, p. 186.

[10] *Querinis Reise*, ed. by Wold, pp. 178–90.

ers two medieval papal delegations: one led by Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear travelling in 1152–54, and the second conducted by Johannes de Serone and Bernhard de Ortolis, travelling considerably later, in 1311–12. Using the slim corpus of documentary evidence alongside archaeological evidence and geographical information, it places travellers' missions within the context of their likely experiences of cultural and environmental similarity and difference and considers the impact of these experiences on the outcomes of negotiations.

Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear's Travels to Norway in 1152–54

It cannot have been easy for a papal delegation to fulfil a mission in Scandinavia. Firstly, it could be a hazardous trip, and, secondly, the delegation would have to communicate and negotiate with people whose habits they considered exotic, and who would be likely to feel much the same way about their way of life. Language differences would also, at least sometimes, have made communication difficult, although Scandinavian clergymen probably had a basic grasp of Latin and planned delegations may also have made use of interpreters. Visitors' responses to the climate, the lodgings provided for them, the food served, and the table manners they encountered must have been important ingredients that contributed to their overall impressions. However, there are reasons to believe that a papal delegation travelling from the south to the north may have been at an advantage in comparison to a delegation moving in the opposite direction. The papal delegates were probably of a high rank, better educated and better equipped than most Scandinavians. It is also likely that these high-status delegates were well dressed, contributing to the authority and impact they must have enjoyed as a consequence of their association with the authority of the Pope and the papal Curia.

The first papal delegation to Norway was led by the English Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, who later became Pope Adrian IV (*c.* 1100–59).[11] Breakspear's own background would, of course, have impacted upon his experiences in Norway, but, although we have some portraits of Nicholas as well as his signature, we unfortunately know very little about his early life. He was probably born near St Albans in Hertfordshire, England. His father was named Richard, and was a priest and monk at St Albans, and Nicholas was likely tech-

[11] The biographical details in this paragraph are compiled largely from Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear*; Mann, *Nicholas Breakspear*. The Cardinal's name is spelled in various ways, for instance 'Brekespere' (Brooke, 'Adrian IV and John of Salisbury'). He may also be called 'Nicolaus Albanensis episcopus', see for instance DN VIII, no. 1.

nically illegitimate if he had this status when the child was born.[12] If not, by joining this Benedictine monastery, he was either leaving his family behind with his wife's consent or as a widower. It is possible that Nicholas's father provided for his son through an agreement with the monastery, assuming that he would follow him as a monk. However, Nicholas did not follow this path, but subsequently left England for France. He became a successful student in Paris from around 1125, and moved on through the Rhône region to Provence. After a period as a poor clerk at St James church in Maguelonne, he went to Montpellier, and studied for a while in Arles. Nicholas moved from there to the Augustinian monastery of St Rufus near Avignon where he became a canon at the latest by 1140, and was soon afterwards elected abbot. The scanty sources cannot fully explain how Nicholas reached this status. Nor do they explain why the monks soon regretted the elevation of Nicholas, and why they wrote several complaints against him to the pope.[13] But the sources tend to agree on the fact that he was poor, and a recent re-reading of the most important sources suggests that explanations may be found in his personal qualities, his employment by the canons of Saint-Ruf, and his training in law.[14] As a consequence of the complaints against him, Nicholas moved to Rome around 1146. He was made bishop of Albano and became a cardinal, a position he still held when he left Rome for Scandinavia in March 1152, when he was sent by the pope to reorganize the church hierarchy in Scandinavia by establishing new archbishoprics in Norway and Sweden.

We do not know why Nicholas Breakspear was appointed as delegate for this mission, or what qualifications might have made him seem an appropriate choice.[15] Horace K. Mann argued in 1911 that it was 'precisely because he was an Englishman', and could be accounted for by 'the superior power and fitness of the English work of any kind', but such a statement is probably more telling about Mann and his time than about Nicholas.[16] It may have mattered that, like the Scandinavians, he came from the northwest parts of Europe and thus had some familiarity with the broader geographical region, and yet, perhaps in part due to his formation in France and Rome, he may have appeared culturally

[12] Brooke, 'Adrian IV and John of Salisbury'.

[13] Egger, 'The Canon Regular'.

[14] Egger, 'The Canon Regular'.

[15] Johnsen, *Studier vedrørende Kardinal Nicolaus Brekespears Legasjon til Norden*, pp. 20–64; Bagge, 'Den heroiske tid'.

[16] Mann, *Nicholas Breakspear*, p. 11.

close to the Curia. Although records do not specify the languages spoken during the diplomatic mission, Breakspear may have also had a linguistic advantage. It has been argued that there was mutual intelligibility between Norse and English speaking people in Viking Age in England, only a century or so before Breakspear's journey.[17] Indeed, there may even have been greater differences between Norse dialects within medieval Norway than between certain forms of Norse and English. Breakspear would also have spoken French, identified in the thirteenth-century *Kongsspegelen* (*Mirror for a King*), as, alongside Latin, the language with the furthest cultural and geographical reach.[18] Latin would, of course, have been familiar to Breakspear, and was the language of written communications between the Papal Curia and Norway.

On his way to Scandinavia, Nicholas spent Easter in San Gimignano in Italy, and continued from there to his home country of England, where he probably stayed for a while.[19] From there he travelled to Norway. It is not known where, when, and how he travelled, how long he stayed in Norway and whereabouts he was based. However, there had been good connections and regular trade across the North Sea since the Viking period;[20] a decree of Henry II of England stated that Norwegian merchants should pay the same customs duties when arriving at Grimsby harbour as they had in the time of his grandfather, King Henry I.[21] Passage by ship from Grimsby was just one of the possibilities for a direct voyage to Norway open to Nicholas. It is also possible that the English raised certain expectations in Nicholas of the kind of reception he could expect in Norway. When Cardinal Vilhelm of Sabina (Wilhelmi Sabinensis) was sent to Bergen just under a century later, in 1247, for a royal wedding, he was warned in England that, even if he survived the dangerous voyage, he would have a poor reception in Norway, a land with little food, only the most basic of beverages and whose sparse population behaved more like animals than humans.[22] Nonetheless, Nicholas travelled — though his route is not known — reaching Norway before 21 July 1152.[23]

[17] Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England*, pp. 182–83.

[18] *Kongsspegelen*, trans. by Hellevik.

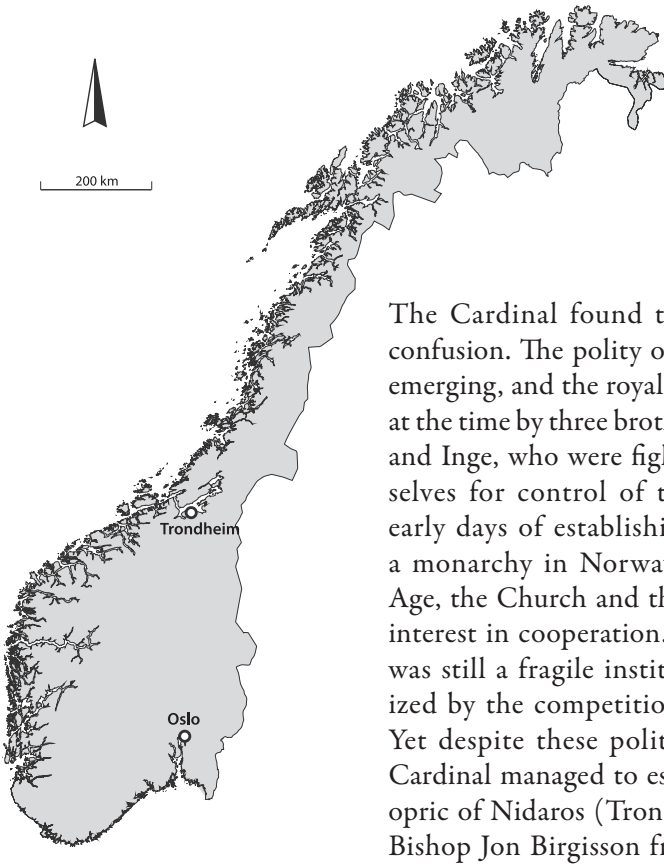
[19] Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear*, p. 54; *Regesta Norvegica*, ed. by Gunnes and Kjellberg, I, no. 88, 30/3–1152.

[20] Barrett, 'What Caused the Viking Age?'; Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*.

[21] DN XIX, no. 32, Worcester 1154–*c*. 1160.

[22] Steen, *Ferd og Fest*, pp. 34–36.

[23] Johnsen, *Studier vedrørende Kardinal Nicolaus Brekespears Legasjon til Norden*, p. 73.



Map 2.1.
Norway, with Trondheim (Nidaros) and Oslo (illustration: Arkikon).

The Cardinal found the country in great confusion. The polity of Norway was still in emerging, and the royal throne was occupied at the time by three brothers, Sigurd, Øystein, and Inge, who were fighting between themselves for control of the crown.[24] During early days of establishing Christianity and a monarchy in Norway in the late Viking Age, the Church and the king had a mutual interest in cooperation.[25] But the monarchy was still a fragile institution, now jeopardized by the competition between brothers. Yet despite these political difficulties, the Cardinal managed to establish the archbishopric of Nidaros (Trondheim) and installed Bishop Jon Birgisson from Stavanger as the first archbishop, providing him with the *pallium* at a ceremony in the cathedral in Trondheim (Map 2.1).[26] During his stay, the Cardinal also participated in various discussions concerning civil reforms in government, and was instrumental in the introduction of laws concerning matters such as the regulation of

[24] Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom*, pp. 42–46.

[25] Bagge and Nordeide, 'The Kingdom of Norway'; Nordeide, *The Viking Age as a Period of Religious Transformation*, pp. 305–18.

[26] Due to lack of sources it is impossible to know for certain if this happened in Trondheim, although Anders Berquist argues that there is little doubt that Nicholas was in Trondheim and organized a council there (Bergquist, 'The Papal Legate'). And it is likely that the ceremony found place in the town of the archbishop's seat (see also Johnsen, *Studier vedrørende Kardinal Nicolaus Brekespears Legasjon til Norden*, p. 126). Trondheim and Nidaros are two names used for the town in medieval documents.

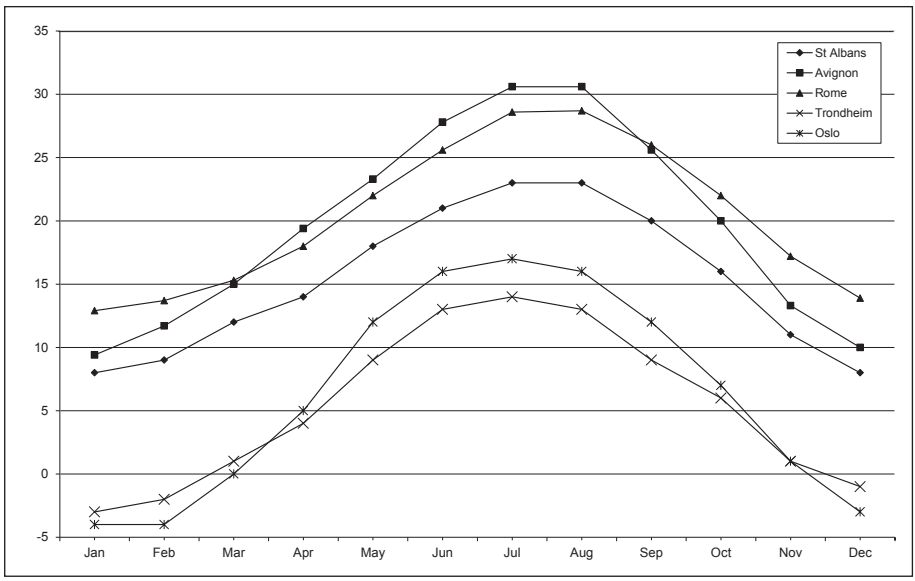


Figure 2.1. Average annual temperatures in Celsius in St Albans, Avignon, Rome, Trondheim, and Oslo. (Weather statistics from <www.yr.no>, provided by the Norwegian Meteorological Institute and Norsk rikskringkasting AS.)

private property.[27] He then continued to Sweden with the intention of establishing a new archbishopric there, but found the conditions in that country not satisfactory; neither the location of the archbishop's seat nor the candidate for archbishop had been decided.[28] Based on available sources, we cannot be sure exactly where and for how long Breakspear stayed in Norway, but to judge from his achievements during his time in Scandinavia, he probably stayed in the country until summer or autumn 1153.[29] He returned via Denmark, stopped in Lorraine on 20 July 1154, and arrived in Rome around November 1154, where he was proclaimed pope on 5 December.[30]

While Nicholas may have spent his earliest years relatively poor, by the time of his mission to Scandinavia, after approximately fifteen years as first abbot and then Cardinal, he would have been used to a high standard of living. The Cardinal would have experienced many contrasts between Trondheim and

[27] Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear*, p. 59.

[28] Bergquist, 'The Papal Legate', p. 46.

[29] Bagge, *Den heroiske tid*, p. 52.

[30] Bagge, *Den heroiske tid*, pp. 52–53.

the regions in which he was accustomed to live and work. Many differences had their roots in the region's climate. While the climate around St Albans, Nicholas's early home, may have seemed cool compared to Provence and Rome, Norway was significantly colder, and particularly so as far north as Trondheim (Figure 2.1). Winter in Trondheim would have brought significant amounts of snow with average temperatures some degrees below zero, while the temperature during the rest of the year would have been considerably lower also than those in southern France. Whilst a physical shock to a visitor unused to such temperatures, the climate would also have had alimentary consequences. The regions around Trondheim produced beer, not the wine to which visitors from southern Europe would have been used. In this respect, however, Scandinavian conditions may have reminded Nicholas of those of his cooler homeland.

In addition to the climatic conditions and their effects, Nicholas's experience of his visit would have been affected by the built environment. By the end of the first millennium CE, Rome was already a great city. Not only there, but also in St Albans, Paris, and Avignon, Nicholas would have visited both Roman and Romanesque stone buildings, religious as well as secular. In Rome, some of those buildings were of considerable antiquity. In Trondheim, however, hardly any buildings that existed at the time of Nicholas's visit were older than from the eleventh century, and stone buildings were rare at this time. Between 1050 and 1536, stone buildings in Norway were, with very few exceptions, royal or ecclesiastical. Even these constructions, moreover, date principally to the twelfth century or later. Other buildings were constructed of wood; indeed, with the exception of some churches and royal palaces, the typical medieval town in Norway was wooden.[31]

In Trondheim at the time of Nicholas's visit stone buildings were similarly few. It is likely that the cathedral was the only stone church; while the later sagas identify six churches in the town, the others are likely to have been wooden constructions.[32] Little is known about the royal palace at this time, other than the fact that it was located close to the river, east of and near the cathedral.[33] The location of the bishop's palace is unknown, but some remains of a stone building at the precinct of the later archbishop's palace south of the cathedral have been interpreted as the remains of the former bishop's palace

[31] See for instance Christophersen and Nordeide, *Kaupangen ved Nidelva*; Schia, *Oslo innerst i Viken*.

[32] Lunde, *Trondheims fortid i bygrunnen*; Nordeide, 'St. Olavs by'.

[33] Nordeide, 'St. Olavs by', pp. 55–56.

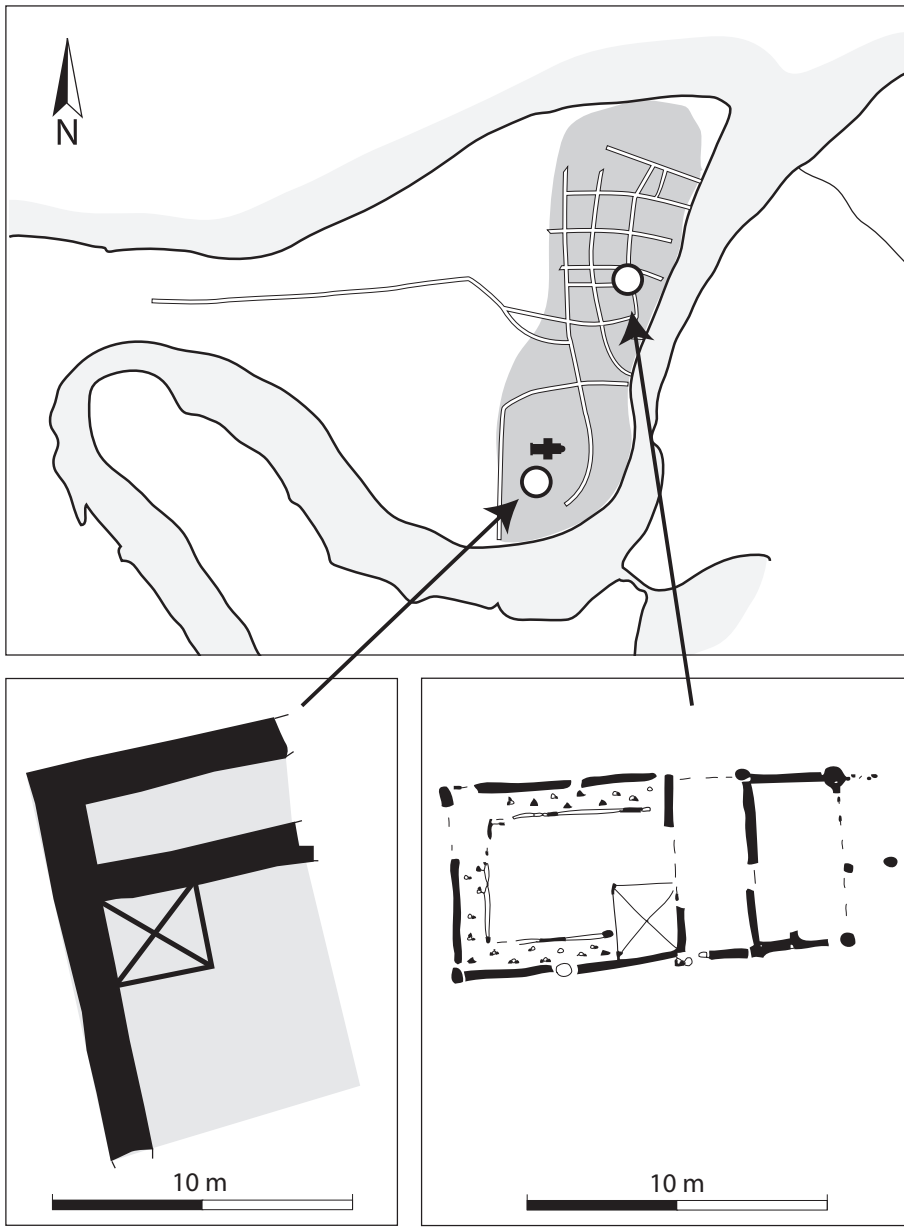


Figure 2.2. Possible lodging for Nicholas Breakspear during his stay in Trondheim: A stone house (not complete) and an average wooden house. The position of the cathedral is marked on the Trondheim plan (illustration: Arkikon, after Nordeide, *Erkebispegården i Trondheim*, p. 85; and Nordeide, 'Faseplaner', from plan of Phase 6).

(Figure 2.2).[34] The building resembles the ground plan of other, wooden houses in the city of the same date, but is bigger, although the full size of the building is not known. If this building is indeed an earlier bishop's palace built in stone, it would have been considered a higher-status building than a wooden lodging, and would thus be likely considered appropriate accommodation for a visiting Cardinal.[35]

It is possible, however, that the Cardinal lodged amongst ordinary citizens during his stay at Trondheim. An average property consisted only of wooden buildings, with workshops and trading houses along the main street, living quarters in the central part, and latrines and outhouses at the back. There would be only one or two houses with a fireplace in each property, and these would be placed in the central, residential area of each property (Figure 2.2).[36] Despite their probable lower status, there were advantages to wooden houses in the cold, Norwegian climate, however; a wooden house would probably have been warmer than a high-status stone building during the long winter months.

Wherever the Cardinal was accommodated, in Trondheim or elsewhere, his lodgings were probably small and simple. He would have slept and sat on wall benches and shared the residence with others residents. The small and primitive buildings would have made it difficult to create distance between the Cardinal and the townspeople. During the evenings in particular, residents would gather on wall-benches around the fireplace to eat, converse, and play games, while some would use the light of the fire — the best source of light as well as heat — to carry out household tasks. While building design may have facilitated informal contacts between the Cardinal, his company and their hosts, however, it is unlikely that they met the low expectations that English rumours raised in Cardinal Vilhelm of Sabina (Wilhelmi Sabinensis) a century later. Trondheim, in the period of Nicholas's visit, produced artefacts of a relatively high standard, including high-quality, locally produced objects of leather, bone, antler, precious metals, iron, and textiles. Coins, weights, fishing equipment, and a chess board have been found, and archaeological evidence suggests that a vari-

[34] The construction work on the Archbishop's Palace seems to have started almost immediately after the foundation of the province. Nordeide, *Erkebispegården i Trondheim*, pp. 79–83.

[35] The link between status and materials can be extrapolated from the later archbishop's palace complex in Trondheim. Stone buildings were near to the cathedral and of high status, such as the great hall, while buildings further from the cathedral were wooden. See Nordeide, *Erkebispegården i Trondheim*, passim.

[36] Christophersen and Nordeide, *Kaupangen ved Nidelva*, passim.

ety of good meats and vegetables were consumed in Trondheim in the period.[37] From the archaeological evidence, we should not doubt that his Norwegian hosts had the capacity to lodge, feed, and entertain their distinguished guest perfectly adequately.

The main purpose of Cardinal Breakspear's journey was to establish the archbishopric of Nidaros, and in that aim he was wholly successful. Moreover, later Old Norse narratives such as the *Heimskringla*, by the Icelandic historian, poet and politician Snorri Sturluson (*c.* 1179–1241) describe Nicholas as a popular and respected visitor. Indeed, Snorri wrote:

> Eigi hefir sá maðr komit í Nóreg útlendr, er allir menn mæti jafnmikils eða jafnmiklu mætti ráða við alþýðu sem hann. Hann fór suðr síðan meb miklar vingjafir ok lézk ofvalt mundu vera inn mesti vinr Norðmanna.[38]

> No foreigner has ever come to Norway whom men rated as highly and who had such influence on the community as he. Later, he travelled south, after receiving many friendly gifts and declaring that he would always be most friendly disposed toward Norwegians.[39]

Of course, Snorri was writing some decades after Nicholas's visit concerning events he did not personally witness. Nonetheless, when we consider not just the documentary evidence, but the Cardinal's background and training, and the archaeological evidence for the built, religious cultural and social environment that he encountered in Norway, Snorri's account does not seem implausible. Even if Nicholas experienced some problems as abbot in France, he seem to have been a clever, ambitious man with the linguistic, cultural and, the evidence suggests, interpersonal skills appropriate to diplomacy in the North. Nicholas Breakspear encountered an environment and conditions that, to him, might not have been so unfamiliar as to those from further south in Europe. Given the outcome of negotiations and Snorri's report, it seems that conditions combined to facilitate good communications between all parties, and a twelfth-century cultural encounter that was positive for all concerned.

[37] Nordeide, 'Activity in an Urban Community'; Griffin and Sandvik, *Frukter, frø og andre makrofossiler*; Lie, *Dyr i byen*.

[38] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. by Jónsson, c. 23, p. 587.

[39] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, trans. by Hollander, p. 757 (*Saga of the Sons of Harald*, c. 23).

The Papal Delegation of 1327

At the Council of Vienne (1311–12), Pope Clement V (1305–14) drew up plans for a renewal of the crusade against the Muslims to re-conquer the holy sites. This was to be made possible by a fundraising campaign that was to take place over six years. His successor, Pope John XXII, tried to bring these plans to fruition; a series of documents related to the campaign were signed by Pope John XXII on 13 August 1326, which appointed two collectors, Johannes de Serone and Bernhard de Ortolis, as papal tax collectors and provided them with a royal mandate and power of attorney.[40] This was the first mission that involved sending apostolic collectors directly to Scandinavia on the orders of the pope. As is the case for Cardinal Breakspear's embassy, sources concerning this mission are scarce. We are left with only accounts in a few letters addressing particular issues concerning the main objectives and persons involved.[41]

Although one of the letters states that the mission was to collect six years' worth of tithes from Norway and Sweden in order to subsidize the mission to the Holy Land, in reality the Norwegian king and the pope both had in mind areas in need of financial assistance that were closer to home.[42] King Magnus Eriksson had already applied to the pope for help against non-Christians attacking the country from Karelia and Rus' in particular.[43] Pope John XXII asked his delegates to look into this problem, and if it appeared to be correct, either one third or one half of the money collected was to be kept by the king of Norway to help address the problem.[44] The pope for his part wanted support from the king, the king's governor, and from Archbishop Eiliv of Nidaros, and to this end reminded them of the infidels and heretics who opposed the church in Italy.[45]

Beyond the fact that he was vicar of the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Novaux in Alet, in the archbishopric of Narbonne in the south of France, not much is known about Bernhard de Ortolis. His name occurs in connection with the mission to Scandinavia and in just one other document, dated 8

[40] See DN VI, letters nos 112–16, all dated 1326.

[41] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, pp. 90–92.

[42] DN VI, no. 112, 13 August 1326.

[43] DN VI, no. 113a, 13 August 1326.

[44] Two letters from the same date, addressed to the same two delegates give different amount; DN VI, no. 113a and no. 113b, 13/8–1326.

[45] DN VI, no. 119d, 30/8–1326; DN V, no. 117, 29/8–1326.

January 1317. This document mentions Bernhard as a beneficiary of a canonry in Clairvaux.[46] Johannes de Serone was prior of the Dominican Convent of Figeac, also in the south of France, although further from the south coast than Bernhard.[47] Thus, in terms of climate and culture, their backgrounds were not hugely different from Cardinal Breakspear's in his adult years, at least. In communications, they probably had to rely upon Latin — the language of their letters — or interpreters. The collectors were given permission to appoint two notaries according to their own judgment to accompany them to Norway and Sweden. The only conditions were that these men should be unmarried and should not be members of the higher clergy or any monastic order.[48] The delegation started from Avignon on 14 September,

> [...] travelling on horseback from the South to the North, passing through Paris, they boarded ship in Dieppe in Northern France, and landed in Brügge, where they sold their horses and set out again on their journey by land for the Port of *Scluse* in Flanders and boarded ship again bound for Norway, and precisely for Sund(e), where they arrived between the end of 1326 and the beginning of 1327.[49]

Oslo was their base during the expedition, and Durand de Rozeriis, the papal notary, remained there to do paperwork and take care of the resources collected while Bernhard was collecting taxes in western Norway and Johannes was carrying out a similar role in the rest of the country.[50] They must have arrived in Oslo by midwinter, given that, by 10 February they had already managed to collect some money from the Oslo bishopric.[51]

There was a significant difference between the 1327 expedition and that of Nicholas Breakspear. By 1327, Norway had been an archdiocese for almost two hundred years, and a great number of ecclesiastical institutions had been set up and built, including monasteries capable of providing hospitality for visitors on ecclesiastical business. Since monastic architecture tended as far as possible to be in accordance with universal norms for the relevant order, monks, who would where possible stay with their own order while travelling, would prob-

[46] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, p. 92 and n. 31.

[47] DN VI, no. 112, 13/8–1326.

[48] DN VI, no. 122, 5/9–1326.

[49] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, p. 93.

[50] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, p. 94. See also, for instance, DN II, no. 162; DN IV, no. 172; DN XVII, no. 29.

[51] DN VI, no. 127b, 10/2–1327.

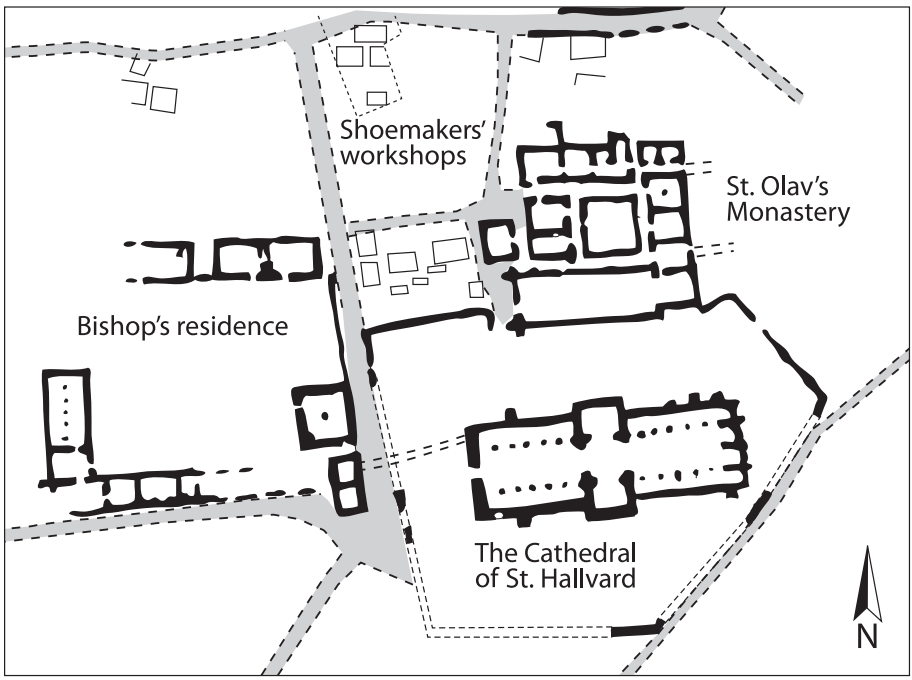


Figure 2.3. The Dominican monastery in Oslo in relation to the bishop's seat and other surroundings (illustration: Arkikon, after Schia, *Oslo innerst i Viken*, p. 80).

ably feel more or less 'at home' in any monastery belonging to their order, even in geographically remote areas. It is likely that the Dominican prior Johannes de Serone intentionally sought out Dominican monasteries, both as social company and as lodging, and evidence suggests success in this: the only two letters that offer detail on their place of composition were signed at the Dominican monastery of St Olav in July and August 1328.[52]

St Olav's monastery was located in the centre of Oslo. Probably established by 1239, it was among the earliest in the Nordic countries. The Dominicans took over a small church dedicated to the patron saint of Norway, St Olav, a dedication retained by the Dominicans. The church had to be rebuilt in accordance to Dominican customs.[53] However, the monastery was also built so close to the cathedral, the seat of the bishop of Oslo, that it almost seemed to be an integral part of it (Figure 2.3). Such close proximity to the bishop's palace

[52] DN VII, no. 124; DN VII, no. 125.

[53] Schia, *Oslo innerst i Viken*, p. 74.

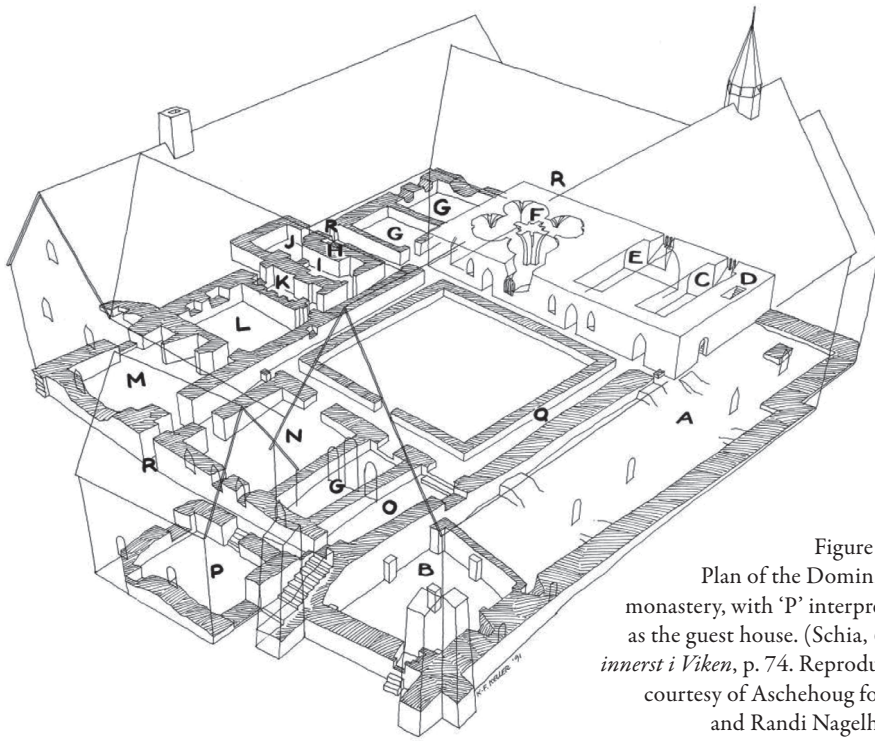


Figure 2.4.
Plan of the Dominican monastery, with 'P' interpreted as the guest house. (Schia, *Oslo innerst i Viken*, p. 74. Reproduced courtesy of Aschehoug forlag and Randi Nagelhus.)

would have been significant for the tax collectors' mission, as cooperation with the bishops was necessary to make their collections.

The building complex of St Olav's monastery is thought to have been largely finished by the first decades of the fourteenth century.[54] At the time of the delegation's visit, then, the premises would have been new and modern for their time, and probably of the highest quality by local standards. The guest house was probably the house on the west side of the west wing (Figure 2.4). This was close to the bishop's residence. However, it was also to the shoemakers' workshops, with their associated tannery smells. These smells would, then, have reached not only the Dominican guest house but also the bishop's palace itself, a fact that suggests that tannery smells must have been considered an acceptable environmental condition for guests.

Even if the monastery was built according to international standards, it is likely the combination of stone buildings and the cold climate might result

[54] Schia, *Oslo innerst i Viken*, pp. 73–83.

in less than comfortable living standards in the winter, which could be even colder in Oslo than in Trondheim. It is known that in Finland, medieval people moved from stone to wooden houses during the winter to mitigate the effects of the cold.[55] But, while it might be possible to label certain buildings in the bishop's palace at Oslo 'summer' or 'winter' residences, little is known about how people moved between various buildings over the seasons, and we cannot infer anything about how such annual migrations might have affected the delegation. A couple of observations are nonetheless pertinent. The two letters that give locations were both written during the summer, when stone accommodation would have been more appropriate.[56] In anticipation of collecting large sums of money for the crusade, the delegation would, perhaps, be likely to find stone accommodation more appropriate than wood for its safe-keeping. Finally, the stone-built monastery does not appear to have had wooden accommodations to which the visitors could be moved, meaning that any move would probably have taken them outside the monastery complex.

This delegation appears to have met with considerably greater difficulties than the mission of Nicholas Breakspear. It may be that, in addition to other cultural differences, lack of a common language other than Latin was a problem. However, reports that fraudulent papal representatives had travelled from Rome to Sweden and Norway with false papal letters probably did not help matters.[57] The collectors encountered responses that no doubt frustrated them; not all dioceses were willing to pay the tax due to the Apostolic Chamber, and some wanted to pay in kind rather than cash. Bishop Viljalm of the Orkneys had the local papal under-collector arrested, which was a strong signal that certain local ecclesiastical authorities did not acknowledge the authority of the papal delegation.[58] Moreover, Bishop Eirik Ogmundsson in Stavanger and the diocesan collector, Orm Halgeirsson, were threatened with interdiction in 1327 as a result of their reluctance in this respect.[59] The collectors did not

[55] Dr Kari Uotila, personal communication at the conference 'Everyday Life in Medieval Castles', Hämeenlinna Castle, Finland, 1997.

[56] DN VII, no. 124, 14 July 1328: in this letter Johannes de Serone and Bernhard de Ortolis appointed three canons ombudsmen: Håkon Erlingsson, Solve Ivarsson, and Jon Arneson Albus. DN VII, no. 125, 6 August 1328: in this letter Johannes and Bernhard appointed three additional ombudsmen: the nobleman Raymund de Lamena, and the merchants Arnaud de Bossonés from Montpellier, and Pierre de Linars from Gourdon.

[57] DN IV, no. 127a, 13/11–1326; DN VI, no. 127b, 13/11–1326.

[58] DN VI, no. 124, 22/9–1326.

[59] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, p. 95.

only meet obstruction at a local level, however. The delegates of the Norwegian king subsequently went on to claim that they had letters stating that not just some, but all the money collected by the apostolic collectors should be given to the king of Norway. Eventually, the pope was forced to write a letter to King Magnus Eriksson to request that he allow the apostolic collectors to return with the papal share.[60]

As was the case with the mission of Nicholas Breakspear, a complex combination of conditions and circumstances probably had a bearing on this delegation's experiences. One likely factor is the fact that shortly before this mission, during the years 1319–23, the people of Norway had suffered from extraordinary economic burdens due to the child-king Magnus Eriksson's poor management of Sweden and Norway. The extraordinary economic burden was discussed and resolved at a national Council between the bishops and the king's men in 1323, and the national Council and advisors played an important role during the young boy's reign.[61] The papal tax collection for crusading was probably experienced as an unwelcome additional economic burden.

Irrespective of the problems experienced in implementing their mission, on 22 August 1328 the papal delegation left Oslo for home on a ship bound for Flanders,[62] and on 2 September 1328 Pope John XXII wrote a letter stating that the tax collectors' mission to Norway and Sweden had been fulfilled.[63] Within two years, however, the pope had a change of heart, sending a second mission to improve on an outcome now regarded as unsatisfactory. Once again he threatened the bishop of Stavanger with an interdict, as well as the bishops of Hamar and Oslo, if payments were delayed.[64] We may perhaps infer from this that none of these bishops had been particularly cooperative on the first occasion, with the result that precautions were taken on the second trip to prevent a recurrence of these difficulties. However, in spite of improved ecclesiastical organization and appropriate lodgings, the desired outcomes of this later mission proved difficult to achieve, and it enjoyed less success than the first.

Pope John XXII's attempts to raise funds for crusades in Scandinavia may appear largely unsuccessful when we consider the difficulties the delegations encountered and when judged against what the papacy considered appropri-

[60] DN VI, no. 129, 1/9–1327.

[61] Holmsen, *Norges historie*, pp. 320–21.

[62] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, p. 98.

[63] *Regesta Norvegica*, ed. by Gunnes and Kjellberg, IV, no. 621.

[64] Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope*, pp. 98–99.

ate. However, it is important to remember that they had other outcomes too. As Janus Møller Jensen argues, the crusades and the process of tax collection to finance them proved important in Scandinavia for political reasons:

> The crusade vows of Magnus and Valdemar served many different purposes and were undoubtedly used in the political struggle between them and to forward their own political agendas. They gave them a share in the money collected for the crusade, and they were important political actions. It financed Magnus' unsuccessful campaigns against the Russians and Karelians, in order to extend Christianity and to expand his realm and win control with the trading routes in the area, as well as the crusading status attracted knights from many parts of Europe to fight the war.[65]

While, from the perspective of the papacy, the results of the fourteenth-century missions in Norway were less than satisfactory and the experiences of the delegations exceptionally difficult, it is important to remember that such missions had consequences beyond those intended.

Outcome versus Mission

This article has examined the circumstances of two papal delegations to Norway, two centuries apart. In both cases, written sources only take us so far: other than specific information on uncooperative local bishops, no comments from any of these delegations have survived regarding local conditions. Similarly, no contemporary comments from members of the local population survive to indicate how the visitors were perceived. This article has therefore worked with the available evidence, logic, and inference to consider how factors such as the formation of delegates, physical, environmental, and political circumstances may have impacted upon missions.

Notwithstanding the competition for the Norwegian throne at the time it was undertaken, Nicholas Breakspear's mission was probably in the mutual interest to the king and the Church. The people of the new archbishopric seem to have viewed the presence of the Cardinal and his actions in a positive light. The nature of his lodgings may well have brought Nicholas into contact with a range of local people. It also probably mattered that his origin was in England, not far from Norway; this may have given him a certain degree of cultural and, perhaps, linguistic familiarity with his host country. The mission's positive outcome and Snorri Sturluson's later report seem to underline the impression of

[65] Jensen, 'Politics and Crusade', p. 285.

Breakspear as a man whose social skills were sufficiently high to outweigh any potential negative effects of the mission's physical conditions.

By the fourteenth century, the living arrangements for papal delegations had probably improved, as the ecclesiastical institutions in Norway would have been closer to international standards than in the time before the establishment of the Nidaros archbishopric. Delegations would probably have been more isolated from the public, in a monastic guesthouse; this was certainly the case at their Oslo base. This would not have eased their communications; rather, it would have created a sense of distance between the papal delegates and the locals. In their communications, much would have depended on the cooperation of local men, and, as we have seen, the 1327 delegation encountered a number of uncooperative bishops, which would have significantly reduced its chance of success. Indeed, it was probably difficult to communicate, perhaps through less-than-cooperative interpreters or local partners, the importance of collecting money and resources from the population in order to fund activities taking place in distant places that the people making the payments did not know. Framing the collection as supporting not only the pope's crusade to the Holy Land, but also King Magnus's struggles against repeated non-Christian attacks on his kingdom to the north, may have provided a more positive context. However, King Magnus' lacklustre record would have weighed against this, and eventually even the king, who initially desired a positive outcome, found himself in conflict with the delegation. Unlike the first papal delegation, the 1327 mission may well have been popularly regarded as raising an obligation to pay without receiving much in return.

The two examples discussed here suggest that the outcomes of papal delegations depended most heavily on the character of the mission. If there were shared interests between the papal Curia, the local authorities, and the people receiving the delegations, a mission was more likely to meet its objectives. Cultural differences and similarities and the geopolitical context could add to or diminish communication difficulties. The benefits of Cardinal Breakspear's mission to the Church, the polity of Norway as well as Nicholas's personal interests, were probably largely the result of good timing in terms of the mutual interests of the pope and the Norwegian king, though his specific qualities and interpersonal skills are likely to have had an impact. Perceived differences between the interests of a less-than-popular king, the local church, and the papal Curia hampered the efforts of the 1327 mission. It is not likely to have helped that the delegation appears to have remained rather isolated both geographically and, potentially, linguistically. The negative means, such as threats and penalties, employed by the papal delegation to force cooperation clearly

demonstrate the difficulties faced by the fourteenth-century delegation, but are unlikely to have created or enhanced any sense of mutual interest. As a result, further missions had to be deployed within a few years. One is tempted to pity Johannes de Serone and Bernhard de Ortolis, who were sent to the edge of the world with what appears to have been an almost impossible mission.

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From the Edge of Europe to Global Empire: Portuguese Medicine Abroad (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)

Iona McCleery*

Introduction

In 1516 the first European embassy to China in modern times set out from Portuguese India under the authority of Tomé Pires, a royal apothecary who had already been working for several years in India. Pires was an unusually lowly choice for such a prestigious role but it was justified at the time because of his education and experience in the east. According to a contemporary chronicler, he was chosen because he was 'homem discreto & curioso, & pera conhecer muytas drogas ꝙ lhe dizião ꝙ auia na China' ('a discreet and curious man, and in order to know the many drugs that they were said to have in China').[1] The embassy itself was a disaster; Pires and most of his entourage were executed or dead from illness by 1524, but Pires's earlier travels certainly gave him great

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[1] Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História*, IV, 5. Cortesão provides a slightly different translation of this quotation and further examples of how Pires was viewed at the time in Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, ed. by Cortesão, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

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Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder, IMR 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 55–90
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insight into the drugs and lifestyles of the East. He wrote a detailed survey of South and South-East Asia called the *Suma Oriental* (completed in 1515), a study of China that is sadly lost, and in 1516 a very useful letter to King Manuel (1495–1521) on the spices, precious stones, and food stuffs traded in and out of India. Thanks to the only publication of these materials being in a bilingual edition in the Hakluyt Series in 1944, Pires is not as obscure to the Anglophone world as he could have been, although consequently he has received relatively little attention in Portugal.[2] He is much less famous than Garcia de Orta, a physician of Jewish origin who left Portugal in 1534 for Goa and spent the rest of his life there, practising medicine and gathering information on Indian botany, until he died in 1568. Yet even Orta is only well-known today because a condensed version of his *Colloquies on the Simples, Drugs, and Materia Medica of India* (Goa, 1563) was translated into Latin by Carolus Clusius and published in Antwerp in 1567.[3]

Other Portuguese medical authors were much less fortunate than either of these men as far as the reception of their writings is concerned. Few people know about Simão Álvares's list of the drugs sent to Portugal in the mid-sixteenth century, or his forty year career as an apothecary in India.[4] Even fewer know the *Itinerário* of the surgeon Master Afonso, which describes a journey from India to Portugal via Persia, Armenia, Syria, Cyprus, Crete, Venice, and France in 1565–66.[5] Of course most medical travellers, even in the sixteenth century, have not left us writings at all, least of all the host of apothecaries posted abroad or the criminal surgeons and barbers exiled to the colonies for their punishment. For example, in 1443 a surgeon of Oporto called Lançarote was denounced by his father-in-law for sleeping with his wife, Lançarote's mother-in-law, and was exiled for two years to Ceuta in North Africa, where he probably continued to practise but certainly wrote nothing that has survived.[6] Even when a doctor was

[2] Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, ed. by Cortesão (the letter to the king is in the same edition at II, 512–18, in English translation only). See also Cortesão, 'Ilustre boticário'.

[3] Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, pp. 96–99; Costa, 'Geographical Expansion and the Reconfiguration of Medical Authority'; Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, trans. by Markham. The most recent research on Orta was presented at the congress 'A World in a Book: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Garcia de Orta's *Colloquies*, 10–11 April 2013, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon. Speakers included Hugh Cagle, Harold Cook, Palmira da Fontes Costa, Michael Pearson, and Timothy Walker.

[4] Walter, 'Simão Álvares e o seu rol das drogas da Índia'.

[5] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 131–309, and see further below.

[6] *Documentos das Chancelarias Reais*, ed. by Azevedo, I, 228–29.

asked to write down his travels, as physician Martim Lopes was in 1500 by King Manuel, nothing seems to have come of the project.[7]

A. J. R. Russell-Wood describes the Portuguese empire as 'a world on the move', but the Portuguese people were highly mobile well before they can be said to have had an empire.[8] Perceived already in the early thirteenth century to be 'on the edge of the world', the Portuguese tried to integrate themselves thoroughly into Latin Christian culture and society.[9] There has already been some interest in the many Portuguese scholars who sought out European universities from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of whom studied medicine.[10] It is less well known that Portuguese merchants and princes ventured out into Africa and the Atlantic at much the same time, exchanging ideas about cultural practices and religious beliefs.[11] This constant motion in the medieval and early modern periods creates several methodological problems for the medical historian. There are limitations to the existing historiography on medicine in the early European empires and serious difficulties with finding and interpreting the sources. There are also several conceptual problems to be faced. In what follows it will be necessary to question modern concepts of national identity and the idea of *home*, and to reflect on what constituted an *empire*. It is also worth pausing to think about the word *travel*. Most studies concentrate on the why and how of travel rather than what it was. Yet there is danger in unconsciously applying modern ideas about holidays, commercial enterprise, economic migration, emigration, and colonial service where the return journey is either taken for granted at the end of the trip or tour, or a very

[7] Martim Lopes wrote to the king from Rome, describing a journey through Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Lithuania as well as the Middle East. King Manuel replied by asking him to write a book of his travels, but the doctor may have died before he could complete it. The letters are published in *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. vi–ix.

[8] Russell-Wood, *Portuguese Empire*.

[9] Portugal was described as 'in extremis mundi finibus sita' ('situated in the furthest reaches of the world') in an early life of St Antony of Lisbon/Padua (d. 1231): *Vita Prima*, ed. by Gamboso, p. 274.

[10] Serrão, *Portugais à l'Université de Montpellier*; McCleery, 'Opportunities for Teaching and Studying Medicine in Medieval Portugal before the Foundation of the University of Lisbon (1290)'; Farelo, 'Os estudantes e mestres portugueses na escolas de Paris durante o período medievo'; Farelo, 'On Portuguese Medical Students and Masters Travelling Abroad'.

[11] For example, in the early thirteenth century, one Portuguese prince was married to the Countess of Flanders and another commanded a band of mercenaries in Morocco. Letters of safe passage survive for Portuguese merchants in English archives: Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal*, pp. 210, 215; Odber de Baubeta, 'Some Early English Sources for Portuguese History'.

strong feeling can persist about the home country due to modern communications. It is worth asking if people expected to get home after a trans-oceanic voyage in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Only half of Vasco da Gama's crew returned home in 1498–99, and around a tenth of Magellan's crew arrived back in 1519–22.[12] Nevertheless, the topic of travelling medical practitioners affords opportunities to observe what James Secord calls 'knowledge in transit' at a very early stage in the globalization of European medical science. It also challenges concepts of centre and periphery in the creation of this science.[13] This essay analyses the methodological problems in detail and suggests that Portuguese medical practitioners played an important role in the circulation and construction of knowledge, particularly knowledge about disease, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Medicine in the Early European Empires: Historiography and Sources

The first problem that any historian of medicine in Iberian colonial contexts has to overcome is the limited secondary material on the topic and the lack of theoretical discussion of the nature of *early* imperial expansion and its medical and scientific impact. These problems are related to how scholars have interpreted the available sources. Therefore, this section of the essay provides an overview of some of the debates through analysis of two neglected sources.

In 2004 Jorge Cañizares Esguerra complained that Iberian science had been ignored for centuries, cataloguing its absence from histories of renaissance collecting, botanizing, military technology, metallurgy, and zoology, and arguing that the story of the scientific revolution needed to be rewritten to take in the Iberian Peninsula and its proactive information-gathering colonies.[14] This argument may be seen as part of the Iberian Peninsula's long campaign for an occidental identity. It is true that the Black Legend of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions and the myth that these countries became intellectual backwaters due to authoritarian regimes is still very influential in Anglo-American scholarship.[15]

[12] Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 159, 271; Suárez, *Early Mapping of South East Asia*, p. 124.

[13] Secord, 'Knowledge in Transit'. See also *Circulation and Locality in Early-Modern Science*, ed. by Terrall and Raj.

[14] Cañizares Esguerra, 'Iberian Science in the Renaissance'. See also Cañizares Esguerra, 'Iberian Colonial Science'.

[15] *Beyond the Black Legend, ed. by* Navarro Brotóns and Eamon; Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, pp. xiii–xiv, 126–49, 172–205.

However, Cañizares Esguerra concentrates on Spain in his polemic, has little to say about medicine, and rarely ventures earlier than about 1550. He also accepts the grand narrative of the scientific revolution without question.

More recently, there have been several excellent studies of Iberian medicine and science in imperial context, but they still focus on the period after 1550.[16] The few Portuguese studies rarely consider practical healthcare issues, tending for the period before the eighteenth century to focus on botany or navigational science.[17] It is only historians of the nineteenth century and later who really engage with the concept of imperial medicine and its links to racial tensions and colonial subjugation, and these rarely consider the Portuguese context.[18] Yet the Portuguese expanded into Africa and far into the Atlantic much earlier than the Spanish and they already had to tackle manpower issues involving disease, shipboard illness, and slavery. By the time Spain conquered Muslim Granada in 1492 and subdued the Canary Islands (a decades-long process not completed until after 1492), Portugal controlled three Atlantic archipelagos and several strongholds in Morocco, had reached the Cape of Good Hope (1488) and had developed complex diplomatic and commercial relations with several African rulers.[19] Since at least 1415 and the initial invasion of Ceuta in North Africa, all kinds of Portuguese travellers had been coping with extremely poor health conditions and food shortages, and encountering new peoples and environments. When travellers left writings that have survived, they seem to have been profoundly affected by these daily experiences and learned as much from them as they did from their more intellectual observations. It is only recently that histories of the Portuguese expansion have begun to pay attention to these earliest texts from a medical perspective. For example, the accounts of Alvise de Cadamosto, a Venetian merchant employed by Prince Henry 'the Navigator' in the 1450s, and of Duarte Pacheco Pereira, a navigator writing in

[16] See especially the essays in *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, ed. by Delbourgo and Dew; *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires*, ed. by Bleichmar, de Vos, Huffine, and Sheehan. Also useful are *Merchants and Marvels*, ed. by Smith and Findlen; *Colonial Botany*, ed. by Schiebinger and Swan; *Collecting Across Cultures*, ed. by Bleichmar and Mancall; Huguet Termes, 'New World *materia medica*'; de Vos, 'The Science of Spices'.

[17] Domingues, 'Science and Technology in Portuguese Navigation'; Costa and Leitão, 'Portuguese Imperial Science'.

[18] Ernst, 'Beyond East and West'; Marks, 'What is Colonial about Colonial Medicine?'.

[19] Fernández Armesto, *Before Columbus*, pp. 151–222; Phillips, *Medieval Expansion of Europe*, pp. 135–73, 200–37; Newitt, *Portuguese Overseas Expansion*, pp. 1–136; Disney, *Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, II, 1–118.

around 1500, include discussions of illnesses, exotic flora and fauna, and alternative systems of understanding the world.[20] Historians like Hugh Cagle and Palmira da Fontes Costa still argue for the precocity of authors like these in collecting information about Africa, Asia, and the New World, but they seek to set such knowledge gathering in its contemporary context rather than forcing it to conform to a retrospective scientific agenda.[21]

Cagle and Costa complement the recent work of Kapil Raj, Timothy Walker, and Cristiana Bastos on the construction and circulation of medical knowledge in the Portuguese empire. Raj and Walker show how Garcia de Orta in the mid-sixteenth century, and members of the Jesuit Order in the eighteenth century, adapted indigenous medical practices in India, and became involved in the medicinal drug trade.[22] Bastos similarly argues for adaptation in Portuguese Goa in the nineteenth century in her comparison of indigenous forms of inoculation against smallpox and new imperially-imposed vaccination programmes.[23] All these scholars show that Portuguese Africa and India could be sites for the production of medical knowledge in their own right. Raj in particular argues that the writing of medical and botanical texts constituted the collection of information *as* knowledge for immediate use, not *for* knowledge to be created by others based in Europe.[24] The inhabitants of Goa or Portuguese West Africa, both indigenous peoples and European settlers, were not passive recipients or simple enforcers of European medicine or docile compilers of information to be sent elsewhere for commercial or academic use, but creators of new medical knowledge which could impact on the colonizing power back in Europe. Hugh Cagle will show in a forthcoming article that Portuguese encounters with the peoples of the lush forested coastline of West Africa fundamentally altered European concepts of the body and environment. Rather

[20] *Voyages of Cadamosto*, ed. by Crone; Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, trans. by Kimble.

[21] Costa, 'Secrecy, Ostentation and the Illustration of Exotic Animals in Sixteenth-Century Portugal'; Cagle, 'Dead Reckonings'.

[22] Walker, 'Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge'; Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*. Also significant was the conference: 'Portuguese Physicians in the Early Modern Period: Geographical Expansion and Medical Prudence', organized by Guido Guglioni at the Warburg Institute, London, 18–19 February 2011, where papers were presented by Palmira da Fontes Costa and Timothy Walker, among others.

[23] Bastos, 'Borrowing, Adapting and Learning the Practices of Smallpox'. See also *Circulação do Conhecimento*, ed. by Bastos and Barreto.

[24] This is the main argument of Raj, 'Early-Modern European Botanising in South Asia'.

than being a healthy place, as ancient Greek theory had taught, such forests brought disease to Europeans, forcing the Portuguese to re-think their relationships with new places.[25]

Although presenting an example of Secord's 'knowledge in transit', Cagle presents his case study as a two-way process that deconstructs notions of 'centre' and 'periphery'.[26] Narratives that take seriously the roles of Indian or Atlantic colonies as centres for the production of knowledge reveal that Portugal, the colonizer, played a more marginal role than one might expect. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Portugal was itself subject to scrutiny by medical observers. In the mid-1490s the German physician Jerome Münzer saw Portugal as an exotic land of lions and crocodiles. He did not praise the country's hospitals and pharmacies as he had done in his journey across Spain.[27] This view contrasts with the view of physician and surgeon, António of Guimarães, that northern Portugal in 1512 was a lush, fertile garden full of long-lived pious people, suggesting that old environmental ideas were slow to shift in Portugal itself.[28] Portuguese Goa, on the other hand, had its own indigenous medical traditions, a printing press, and a powerful network of confraternities and hospitals, and it set criteria for colonial inclusion and exclusion that differed from those of Portugal itself.[29] Garcia de Orta, who seems to have left Portugal because of worsening attitudes towards those of a Jewish background, flourished in mid-sixteenth century Goa, drawing on the pharmaceutical and epidemiological knowledge of the Indian Ocean for his *Colloquies*. The geopolitical basis of this knowledge was largely purged from the Latin translation of the book done in Antwerp, and Orta's family was later persecuted by the Inquisition, but recent research emphasizes that it was in Goa, not Portugal, that new medical knowledge was created.[30]

[25] Cagle, 'Beyond the Senegal'.

[26] For this approach, see also Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony'; Chambers and Gillespie, 'Locality in the History of Science'; Hopkins, *Global History*.

[27] *Viaje por España y Portugal*, ed. by Gómez Moreno and López Toro.

[28] Ribeiro, 'Descrição de Entre Douro e Minho por Mestre António'.

[29] Figueiredo, 'Ayurvedic Medicine in Goa According to European Sources in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'; Pearson, 'First Contacts between Indian and European Medical Systems'; Pearson, 'Hindu Medical Practice in Sixteenth-Century Western India'; Sá, 'Shaping Social Space in the Centre and Periphery of the Portuguese Empire'.

[30] Cagle, 'Dead Reckonings', chapter four; Raj, 'Early-Modern European Botanising in South Asia'. Michael Pearson argued for the Indian Ocean basis of Orta's knowledge in the recent conference on him in Lisbon (see note 3 above).

Some of these issues surrounding historiography and sources can be illustrated through two extended case studies. Instead of commodities, diseases, or animals, which have hitherto attracted most interest from historians of science and medicine, this essay focuses on travelling people. Medical practitioners were travellers whose professional interests were different to those of merchants and navigators. Even if the motive for their travel was not always clear, they were usually identified as physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries and employed elsewhere in these roles if not also engaged in healthcare while on their journey. One would expect as a result that, as medical practitioners, they would bring a different range of concerns to bear on their experiences, leading them to create a different type of knowledge in their writings. They might see differently and interpret what they see in a new way while still acknowledging the eyewitnessing conventions of their time.[31] To investigate whether this was indeed the case is a major aim of this essay. The two case studies that have been chosen are the *Itinerário* of the surgeon Master Afonso, a text that, as mentioned earlier, records an overland journey between India and Portugal in 1565–66, and a letter of Diego Álvarez Chanca, a physician from Seville (d. 1515?), which is the main source for Christopher Columbus's second voyage in 1493.[32] The inclusion of this Spanish example emphasizes how it is not just Portuguese medical sources that have been neglected for the early period of the expansion. Furthermore, as will be discussed in the next section, the national identity of these actors is not straightforward and should not be taken for granted. Columbus, originally from Genoa in Italy, operated in a largely Portuguese commercial world during the 1470s and 1480s, and Chanca visited Portugal at least once in 1490.[33]

Two Case Studies: Master Afonso and Diego Álvarez Chanca

Diego Álvarez Chanca was a prominent physician of Seville with connections to the royal court who wrote a treatise on *fascinatio* (the evil eye) and died in

[31] Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness*; Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers'; Rubiés, 'Travel-Writing as a Genre'.

[32] The most accessible version of Chanca's letter is in *Four Voyages*, trans. by Cohen, pp. 129–55, but the bilingual edition in *Select Letters*, trans. by Major, pp. 19–71, has been used where necessary.

[33] Gallinari, *Diego Alvarez Chanca*, p. 99. See also Paniagua, *El Doctor Chanca y su Obra Médica*; Arana Soto, *Los Medicos en el Descubrimiento del Mundo Nuevo y el Homenaje al Dr. Chanca*.

around 1515.[34] Chanca's role on Columbus's voyage was to provide medical care for those on the expedition and, according to a letter of Columbus in 1494, he performed his duties well for the few months that he was there.[35] Chanca returned to Europe as early as he could but his letter, addressed to the municipal council of Seville, provides the first surviving eye-witness account (other than the problematic sources attributed to Columbus himself) of the newly-discovered islands.[36] Although Chanca's role as a physician is usually recognized, there does not seem to have been much analysis of what was 'scientific' or medical about this text.[37] It is also important to go beyond the role of Chanca as a passive observer of Columbus to examine his role as a creator of knowledge about the New World.

There are two important episodes where Chanca's medical knowledge came into play. Firstly, after their arrival on the island of Hispaniola, Chanca examined the wound of a hitherto friendly indigenous ruler who claimed to have been injured in a conflict between a neighbouring indigenous group and the Europeans whom Columbus had left behind earlier that year. The latter group had all mysteriously disappeared. According to Chanca's clinical opinion, the ruler was not injured at all, thus suggesting that he had lied about what had really happened.[38] Chanca therefore played a major role in the dramatic decline of relations between members of the expedition and islanders, and also transmitted back to Seville the information that the islanders could not be trusted, even when they were allies.

The second episode Chanca was involved in had perhaps the most far-reaching consequences. On a visit to an island village, he claimed to have seen a human neck (*pezcuezo*) boiling in a pot. He also described how other members of the expedition had seen human bones in the houses.[39] What these observations meant belongs to a continuing debate about cannibalism in history. In a recent study of Atlantic exploration, David Abulafia argues that what Chanca

[34] Salmón and Cabré, 'Fascinating Women'.

[35] Cook, *Born To Die*, p. 30.

[36] Columbus's own account of the second voyage is lost, and the sources for the first voyage are surrounded by question marks. See Fernández Armesto, *Columbus*, pp. 68, 92, 107.

[37] Cook, *Born to Die*, pp. 28–39, is the best study of disease on the expedition, making full use of Chanca's text but not showing much interest in his medical background.

[38] *Four Voyages*, trans. by Cohen, p. 150.

[39] *Four Voyages*, trans. by Cohen, pp. 133, 136. For the original language of the passage relating to the human neck, see *Select Letters*, trans. by Major, p. 32.

saw was undoubted evidence for the practice of cannibalism in the Caribbean. Columbus had previously reported second-hand stories of such practices; this was eyewitness proof that it did happen.[40] In a manner that mars an otherwise very fine book, Abulafia refers to 'post-modernist, post-colonialist writers', whom he does not cite or name in the text, who 'occasionally writing under a thick veil of jargon [...] see Chanca and his contemporaries as apologists for Spanish imperial ambitions'.[41] Abulafia provides little evidence for why he dismisses their views. Yet scholars such as Peter Hulme and Frank Lestringant, listed in Abulafia's bibliography, dispute Chanca's eyewitness status and argue that presenting islanders as breakers of natural law for eating human flesh provided justification for the conquest of those islands. These theories go back to William Arens's pioneering study of the man-eating myth first published in 1979.[42] Although these theories have not gone uncontested, they are deserving of more respect than Abulafia gives them.[43]

Chanca's account of a human neck boiling in the pot — whether he actually saw it himself or not — still demands further explanation.[44] What is a human neck? It is no more than vertebrae, although to a trained eye they are distinct from those of the rest of the spine. Abulafia argues that there was no large enough mammal native to the island that could have provided the bones in question, but in mentioning this he acknowledges that they could have been the bones of an animal. Since Columbus's fleet had brought large animals like pigs and cattle, one of these could conceivably have been stolen or let loose.[45] It is also known that the islands had large dogs and a giant lizard (probably an alligator), according to Chanca's own account.[46] However, the point is that Chanca may not have been able to tell the difference between human and

[40] Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, pp. 125–26, 187–97; *De insulis*, fols 34^{v}–35.

[41] Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, p. 191.

[42] Arens, *Man-Eating Myth*; Lestringant, *Cannibals*; Myscofski, 'Imagining Cannibals'; *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, ed. by Barker and others.

[43] Arens himself responds to his critics in Arens, 'Rethinking Anthropophagy'. For an indication of how bitter this debate got, see Sahlins, 'Artificially Maintained Controversies'; Obeyesekere and Arens, 'Cannibalism Reconsidered'.

[44] Hulme, 'Introduction', p. 17.

[45] Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, p. 125. Even on the first voyage, small European artefacts were being traded between some islands before Columbus reached them: *Four Voyages*, trans. by Cohen, pp. 62–63. It is possible that animals unloaded earlier in the second voyage escaped or were traded.

[46] *Four Voyages*, trans. by Cohen, pp. 142–43.

animal because his knowledge of anatomy may not have been good enough. There is some debate about the extent of anatomical dissection in the Iberian Peninsula in this period, with one mid-sixteenth century Spanish anatomist claiming that he had to go to Italy in order to be allowed to dissect.[47] Chanca's construction of knowledge about the islanders of Hispaniola was therefore highly dependent on what he thought he knew about both human anatomy and human morality; drawing on European story-telling about *anthropophagi* to frame his narrative, he identified the bones as human.[48] Chanca thus played a pivotal role in the process that turned the islanders into *Canibs* or man-eaters and led to the devastating conquest of their islands. According to Peter Hulme, Chanca's story of the neck in the pot is the origin of later missionary fears of cannibalistic cooking.[49] Yet Chanca's contribution might have been based on anatomical misunderstanding. His account makes it clear that both anatomy and medicine need to be taken seriously as part of the history of exploration.

The second extended case study concerns the *Itinerário* of Master Afonso, an otherwise unknown surgeon who travelled homeward from Portuguese India via what are now Iran, Turkey, and Syria in 1565–66. Afonso's journey may have been made for reasons of diplomacy or espionage, rather than the curiosity he admits to, considering his convoluted route, its great secrecy and the fact that the narrative is dedicated to King Sebastian of Portugal (1557–78), from whom he seemed to expect a reward. For much of the journey Afonso pretended to be a Venetian merchant with a cargo of cloves, but this ceased to be a useful ploy once he reached the Mediterranean where Venetian-Ottoman relations were as tense as Portuguese-Ottoman relations had been in the Indian Ocean.[50] At first sight, Afonso's account seems to have been highly dependent on prior classical and biblical knowledge about these lands.[51] Unlike Dr Chanca, he spent a great deal of time in places that appeared familiar to medi-

[47] Martínez Vidal and Pardo Tomás, 'Anatomical Theatres and the Teaching of Anatomy in Early-Modern Spain'; Carlino, *Books of the Body*, p. 58.

[48] Guzman, 'Reports of Mongol Cannibalism in the Thirteenth-Century Latin Sources'; Llewellyn Price, *Consuming Passions*; Marvin, 'Cannibalism as an Aspect of Famine in Two English Chronicles'.

[49] Hulme, 'Introduction', p. 2.

[50] For Afonso's motivation, dedication to the king and his expectations, see *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 131–32. He refers to his disguise on pp. 137, 237, 288. For the political background, see Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion*, chapter 5.

[51] Carreira, 'Geografia e tradição bíblica no *Itinerário* de Mestre Afonso'.

eval and early modern audiences. In some ways Afonso's imaginative outlook had not shifted much since the days of the Hereford Mappa Mundi (*c*. 1300). For example, Afonso saw the island of Crete as mainly famous for its labyrinth, depicted prominently on the Hereford map. His description of Venice's canals, gondoliers, Jewish ghetto, and courtesans could have been written by any traveller to the city between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[52] Where Afonso's eye witnessing appears much fresher to modern audiences is when he describes his journey, suffering from extreme cold and hunger, through the wintry mountains of Persia and Armenia; here he perhaps had fewer 'scripts' on which to base his writings.[53] Yet Afonso's text is no less authentic just because it seems derivative in places. Although travellers may often have 'found what they expected to find', as Burke put it in his study of early modern Italy, their expectations could influence experience, as was seen with Dr Chanca's descriptions of cannibalism, also based on his prior knowledge.[54] Where experience and expectations clashed, travellers sometimes created new forms of knowledge. However, attempts to make familiar stories out of their unusual journeys should not be dismissed by scholars, since these stories may have made their narratives more meaningful to their audiences.

Although Master Afonso's journey has attracted some scholarly interest, there has been no attempt to analyse his text from a medical perspective.[55] Afonso was not the only traveller who left a description of this route from India to Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but he does seem to have been the only surgeon.[56] Like Dr Chanca, he may have used his clinical knowledge to explain new lands and peoples according to European ideas of health and disease. Despite Afonso's disguise as a merchant, he worked as a sur-

[52] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 295, 302–05; Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*; Davis and Marvin, *Venice, the Tourist Maze*.

[53] Afonso may have used the earlier account written by António Tenreiro, who took almost the same route in 1523–24, but if so he did not mention it. See Disney, 'The Gulf Route from India to Portugal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'; Resende, 'Viagens de um cirurgião português na Pérsia Safávida'. Tenreiro's text is in *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 3–127.

[54] Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, p. 17.

[55] Disney, 'The Gulf Route from India to Portugal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'; Resende, 'Viagens de um cirurgião português na Pérsia Safávida'.

[56] Disney, 'The Gulf Route from India to Portugal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', pp. 528–29, identifies around a dozen published and unpublished narratives of similar overland journeys between the 1520s and the 1660s.

geon for the caravans he accompanied, treating fevers, eye problems, and broken bones and carrying out bloodletting. This was so effective that he became known as *hakim* or 'doctor' by his travelling companions, earning considerable respect which possibly saved him from denunciation to the authorities. It is likely that much of Afonso's healthcare practice differed very little from that found elsewhere in the Middle East, since the underlying theoretical principles of European and Middle Eastern medical cultures were equally inherited from Greco-Roman and Arabic tradition.[57] Yet Afonso's medical interests caused him also to create distinctive new knowledge about the environment through which he travelled. Everywhere he went he described dietary practices, noted the climate and water quality, and commented on where foods were used medicinally; for example, he found out that one type of melon was used for fevers throughout Persia and Turkey.[58] Afonso was particularly interested in fruit and nuts, especially almonds, pistachios, apples, peaches, and grapes (observing where wine was permitted to be made from the latter). Not far from Ormuz, Afonso referred to 'muitas uvas casi tão boas como as nossas em que me eu meti arreaoadamente por ir muito desejozo de fruita' ('many grapes nearly as good as ours which I devoured because I was very desirous for fruit').[59] He noted that at Kashan there were 'muito melacotoens como os nossos, mas muito mores e mais saborosos, maçans doçares as milhores que vy, e marmelos tão doçes como ellas' ('many peaches like ours, but much bigger and tastier; sweet apples, the best I have seen, and quinces as sweet as them').[60] Although discussions of food and climate were typical of early modern travel writing, Afonso's descriptions contrast with those of António Tenreiro, a non-medical traveller in the same regions more than forty years earlier. Tenreiro noted the water sources and main produce of each town but said little about the taste and appearance of food. Despite frequent ill-health, he did not comment on medical practices.[61]

[57] For Afonso's surgical practice, see *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 149, 153, 201. For the Greco-Roman foundations of Middle Eastern medicine, see Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*.

[58] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 161.

[59] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 140.

[60] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 165.

[61] There are examples dispersed throughout *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 3–127. See Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers', p. 150, for climate as a conventional topic in travel writing.

Where Master Afonso's prior knowledge of healthcare clashed with his experiences was in his encounters with epidemic disease. For a considerable distance (between Tabriz and Aleppo), Afonso travelled through a major plague outbreak. He observed how the epidemic was being managed, reporting that there were no quarantine measures in place and that people fought to wear the clothes of a plague victim, in sharp contrast to European behaviour.[62] This experience challenged Afonso's expectations of public health. He was familiar with European methods of dealing with plague, some of which dated back to the 1340s in Italy and at least to the early fifteenth century in Portugal, although quarantine methods were applied rather unevenly across Europe.[63] The idea of 'public' responsibility for health and the need for governmental intervention in order to maintain community health had become relatively normal by the 1560s in Europe, if not uncontested. Indeed, quarantine measures by that stage could be more damaging to a community's ability to function properly than plague itself, which by that stage seemed less virulent.[64] In the Ottoman territories on the other hand, plague persisted until the nineteenth century, causing some historians to view Ottoman rule as a medical failure.[65] More recent scholarship argues that Ottomans and Europeans shared a similar approach to disease in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nukhet Varlık points out that plague probably endured in the Middle East due to the expansion of Ottoman trade and communication networks, not because of a lack of public health response from the authorities. Varlık also insists that the negative medical historiography of the Ottoman period is based on the writings of European travellers like Master Afonso, whom she mentions briefly, not on any archive-based awareness of Ottoman public health policy.[66] Afonso's criticisms should be interpreted as part of a deliberate attempt to produce negative knowledge

[62] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 168, 210–12, 225, 231, 235, 246.

[63] For plague and public health in Portugal, see Braga, *Assistência, Saúde Pública e Prática Médica em Portugal*; Rodrigues, *Crises de Mortalidade em Lisboa*. For an overview of quarantine measures before 1500, see Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, pp. 48–49.

[64] It is no longer sufficient simply to attribute the decline of plague in Europe to the regular imposition of quarantine measures, as it does not seem to have been very effective in controlling the movement of peoples and goods, and the means of the plague's transmission is still a matter of scholarly debate. See Little, 'Plague Historians in Lab Coats'; Jones, 'Plague and its Metaphors in Early-Modern France'; Bowers, 'Balancing Individual and Communal Needs'.

[65] For example, McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples*, pp. 198–99.

[66] Varlık, 'Disease and Empire', pp. 113 (for Master Afonso), 163, 192, 194–95, 209–10. See also Shefer-Mossensohn, Ottoman Medicine, pp. 172–79.

about the Ottomans. The perceived failure to deal with plague corresponds with Afonso's picture of ruinous towns and degraded peoples, none of which matched his ideas of civilized behaviour. Although Afonso seems to have recognized that he had something in common with Persians, Syrians, and Turks who inhabited a relatively familiar world, in contrast to the greater alterity experienced by Dr Chanca in the Caribbean, Afonso nevertheless wished to present a picture of Portuguese superiority over these peoples, using public health as the means to shape his narrative. Although he did not identify cannibals, Afonso certainly saw moral failure of another kind.

Neither Master Afonso nor Diego Álvarez Chanca were writing passively under orders; the former was too interested in his own sensory experiences and the latter too involved in the politics of Columbus's expedition for them to be dismissed as mere compilers. Afonso wrote as an authority in his particular area of expertise; he was not producing data for commercial gain elsewhere, although unfortunately it is not known what use was made of his text or what happened to him. Chanca, on the other hand, returned to Seville where he remained a figure of authority for another two decades. Their narratives draw attention to some interpretative problems with sources, but they also highlight the debates of scholars and their own preconceptions, which in turn shape their own interpretations.

National Identity, Empire, and the Concepts of 'Home' and 'Abroad'

There are a number of scholarly preconceptions that so far have been taken for granted: the idea of 'empire', concepts of national identity, and concepts of 'home' and 'abroad'. It was already noted above that national identity is a difficult thing to apply to medieval and early modern individuals. Columbus cannot be described as 'Italian', a concept that barely existed even after the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. Diego Álvarez Chanca was unlikely to have thought of himself as 'Spanish'. Despite an earlier concept of *Hispania* based on Roman and Visigothic precedents, his region of Europe was only united in a precarious dynastic union in 1479 when Queen Isabel of Castile's husband Fernando became king of Aragon.[67] Yet medical historians are quick to attribute a national identity to the subjects of their research. For example, the Dominican friar and physician, Gil de Santarém (d. 1265), is always described as Portuguese, yet he studied medicine and became a friar in Paris

[67] Linehan 'Religion, Nationalism and National Identity in Medieval Spain'; González Casanovas, 'Alfonso X's Concept of *Hispania*'.

and manuscripts of his writings are scattered around Europe.[68] Similarly, Petrus *Hispanus*, a medical author usually identified with Pope John XXI (d. 1277), was born in Lisbon but spent most of his career in France and Italy.[69] Another physician, Roland of Lisbon (fl. 1420s–70s), was the illegitimate son of a Portuguese mother and a French or Flemish father. He worked at the University of Paris and is usually viewed as French today.[70] Vasco de Taranta, physician of the Count of Foix in southern France in the early fifteenth century, is thought to have been Portuguese only because of hints in his medical compilation, the *Philonium*.[71] João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco, better known as Amatus *Lusitanus*, was a Jewish physician born in Portugal, who studied in Salamanca, worked in Antwerp, Ferrara, Rome, and Dubrovnik, and eventually died in Thessalonika in 1568.[72]

The toponyms given to some of these people date from their own time period for the most part so it is possible that these travelling scholars did identify themselves as coming from a particular country. However, it also could be seen as an optical illusion caused by the internationalism of medieval scholarship and the fraught transmission of manuscripts from the medieval to modern period. What makes someone or something 'Portuguese' or 'Spanish' should be questioned as national labels can be unstable. Scholars have not reached a consensus on when 'nations' or 'nation states' emerged in world history due to debates over whether language, geographical territory, ethnicity, or loyalty to a royal dynasty constitute nationhood.[73] Most of the works of the afore-

[68] McCleery, 'Saintly Physician, Diabolical Doctor, Medieval Saint'; McCleery, 'Opportunities for Teaching and Studying Medicine in Medieval Portugal before the Foundation of the University of Lisbon'.

[69] McCleery, 'Opportunities for Teaching and Studying Medicine in Medieval Portugal before the Foundation of the University of Lisbon'.

[70] Roland L'Escripvain was a canon of Lisbon Cathedral and described as Roland of Lisbon in his treatise on physiognomy. One of the three manuscripts of this work can be found in the royal library of Ajuda in Lisbon. However, there is no evidence that Roland ever came to Portugal as it was possible to be an entirely absentee cathedral canon in this period. See Ziegler, 'Médecine et physiognomonie du XIV^e^ au début du XVI^e^ siècle', pp. 99–100; *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, ed. by Sousa Costa, IV, 263–64, 294–95.

[71] York, 'Experience and Theory in Medical Practice During the Later Middle Ages'.

[72] Arrizabalaga, 'The World of Iberian *Converso* Practitioners'.

[73] *Concepts of National Identity*, ed. by Forde and others; *Medieval Europeans*, ed. by Smyth; Geary, *The Myth of Nations*; Emsley, 'Nation, Nation-State, Nationalism and Europe'; Anderson, *Imagined Community; Memória da Nação*, ed. by Bethencourt and Curto; Coelho and Homem, *Génese do Estado Moderno*.

mentioned medieval and early modern authors were bought by curious medical historians of the early twentieth century who were keen to claim them as Portuguese.[74] Yet it is debatable whether these writings were representative of pan-European scholasticism rather than of Portuguese culture. As was pointed out earlier, the kingdom of Portugal could sometimes be seen as on the edge of the known world, but its scholars were far from being marginalized, participating fully in European academic circles. Claiming authors as belonging to one nationality or another is therefore perhaps more a matter of modern rather than medieval identities.

If the concept of national identity is problematic, then that of 'empire' is even more so. As Susan Reynolds has pointed out, historians have hitherto shown little interest in defining or comparing the numerous political entities known loosely as 'empires' in different time periods. She defines 'empire' rather problematically (although she is aware of some of the problems) as

> a ruling polity (sometimes called the metropolis) and subordinate polities (peripheries or colonies). They came together, moreover, not by a voluntary (or supposedly voluntary) federation but on the initiative of what thus became the metropolitan polity, often by some kind of armed conquest.[75]

Accordingly, the diverse territories of any expansionist ruler or dynasty can be referred to as an 'empire' without much discussion by scholars. For example, it seems to be considered unproblematic to refer to the territories that the surgeon Master Afonso crossed in 1565–66 as the 'Ottoman Empire'.[76] Similarly, there are numerous references to an Angevin 'empire', which from the twelfth

[74] This is my impression based on inscriptions in early printed books in the National Library in Lisbon. See also Pina, 'História'. The question mark over the national identity of Garcia de Orta, whose parents had migrated from Spain, was discussed at the recent conference in Lisbon (see note 3 above). Orta's decision to write in Portuguese rather than Spanish or Latin was what made him 'Portuguese' as far as nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars were concerned.

[75] Reynolds, 'Empire', p. 152. Compare Reynold's definitions to the less rigid approach of Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History*, pp. 8–22. The special thematic strand of the International Medieval Congress held in Leeds in July 2014 was 'empire', so one hopes that there will be renewed critical interest in this topic in the future.

[76] Varlık, 'Disease and Empire', refers to the Ottoman 'Empire' throughout without much discussion. Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine*, seems to prefer the term 'Ottoman Middle East' but also refers throughout to the Ottoman Empire without comment. For a comparison of Spanish and Ottoman imperialism, see Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History*, pp. 117–48.

century included England, Wales, Ireland, and a large part of what is now modern France.[77] In contrast there was indeed a concept of 'empire' in twelfth-century Castile-León whereby both Alfonso VI (d. 1109) and his grand-son Alfonso VII (d. 1157) referred to themselves as emperors. This Iberian concept of *imperium*, not apparently known at all to Reynolds, was further enhanced by Alfonso X of Castile's (d. 1284) failed attempt to become Roman emperor in the mid-thirteenth century, thus tapping into the most important medieval concept of empire, that of ancient Rome, re-established by the Frankish king Charlemagne at his imperial coronation in Rome in 800.[78]

When the Portuguese invaded North Africa in 1415, there seems to be little evidence that they had imperial ambitions of this kind. What is normally described as the first Portuguese empire seems to have been a loose mixture of royal and private enterprise. King Manuel adopted the title 'Lord of Guinea and of the conquest of the Navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India', but does not seem to have seen himself as a universal sovereign. What he claimed may have been closer to a series of commercial monopolies rather than a collection of territories, except for a brief period in the early sixteenth century when the viceroy Afonso de Albuquerque (d. 1515) pursued a more aggressive policy of conquest around the Indian Ocean.[79] As a result, Malyn Newitt writes, 'it is often difficult to know whether one is looking at an "empire" in the sense that Britain had an empire'. He goes on to say that the Portuguese 'empire' could also have been 'a diaspora of people, a medieval crusade, a gold rush, an early experience in monopoly capitalism, or a more primitive exercise in capital accumulation through plunder.[80] As can be seen, Newitt's difficulties stem from the tendency of historians to compare the Portuguese expansion with the British experience, rather than locating it in its late medieval European context. We ought to compare the Portuguese with what the Ottomans and Spanish were doing at the same time, not the British much later.[81] In the Spanish context, Hernando Cortés justified his conquest

[77] Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, pp. 1–3; Muldoon, *Empire and Order*, pp. 59–62.

[78] Muldoon, *Empire and Order*, pp. 21–45, 55–58.

[79] *Albuquerque, Caesar of the East*, ed. by Earle and Villiers.

[80] Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion*, p. 252. See also Newitt, 'Formal and Informal Empire in the History of Portuguese Expansion'.

[81] It is unfortunate that two of the most influential comparative studies of early modern empires consciously chose to omit the Portuguese case: Pagden, *Lords of All the World*; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*. More useful is Hart, *Comparing Empires*.

of Mexico in 1520–21 in letters to his king, the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, the Flemish ruler of Spain, through conscious manipulation of ancient and medieval imperial ideals, not through any sense of contemporary imperial ideology or national identity and certainly not through some prophetic knowledge of future empires.[82] Similarly, the Portuguese expansion was embedded in late medieval religious and political beliefs that should be taken more seriously by historians.

Studying the travels of Portuguese medical practitioners is a novel way of exploring new forms of European expansion emerging from these earlier religious and political beliefs. Some of the practitioners already referred to in this essay could be said to have travelled in 'imperial' service. Yet often this meant that they travelled on the orders of an individual ruler, as was probably the case with the aforementioned cases of Master Afonso and King Sebastião, or Tomé Pires and King Manuel. It should not be taken to imply identification with an empire any more than working for a medieval king necessarily implied identification with a nation.[83] This section of the essay uses the travels of medical practitioners to consider whether the 'empire' (that is Portugal's overseas territories) was a place *to* which to travel *from* some kind of metropolitan homeland, or whether parts of the empire could become a point of origin or a homeland in itself.

Understanding early Portuguese concepts of empire is particularly difficult because of what seems to have been a reluctance to write about the expansion into Africa and Asia as it was happening, and especially a reluctance to print anything for further dissemination once the printing press was available. Unlike in the later Dutch and British empires, Portuguese travel narratives tended to be filed away in the archives of the Casa da Índia, the government office that ran the commercial business of Portugal's overseas territories. This official policy of *sigilismo* (secrecy) meant that the earthquake that largely destroyed Lisbon in 1755 led to the loss of crucial manuscripts and makes it difficult to gauge individual or official views on what the empire might have been. The reasons for the policy may have been the need to keep a competitive edge as Spain, England, and the Netherlands became increasingly interested in Portuguese commerce.

[82] *Letters from Mexico*, ed. by Pagden, especially pp. xxxix–lxxi, p. 48; Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, p. 32; Frankl, 'Imperio particular e imperio universal'; Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, pp. 96–125.

[83] For a critical assessment of royal service as an imperial tool, see Antunes, 'Free Agents and Formal Institutions'; Newitt, 'Formal and Informal Empire in the History of Portuguese Expansion'.

The limited use of the printing press is probably related to the Jewish or German status of most printers and the problems they encountered after the edict of expulsion of the Jews in 1496 and the German Reformation from 1517. Yet it seems that there may have been other as yet unstudied cultural reasons for why the best accounts of Portuguese Africa and India were written by a Venetian and a Dutchman; it is not just a matter of the survival of evidence.[84] Two of the medical travellers encountered in this essay were very aware of the limitations of Portugal in this context. The surgeon Master Afonso who travelled across Asia complained that 'hee hũu gramde descuido de homens, que fazem semelhamtes viagens e as nom escreuem, asi para seu gusto, como para dar rezão de sy, porque a memoria nom pode ser capaz de tamanha cousa' ('it is a great neglect of men who make similar journeys and do not write about them, as much for their pleasure as to account for themselves, since memory is not sufficient').[85] The apothecary Tomé Pires wrote in the prologue to his *Suma Oriental*: 'eu seja lusitano e baixo na gemte plebea cujo custume he dizer menos suas głias do que sam & o mall mais do que he' ('I am Portuguese and of low estate from amongst the common people, whose custom it is to say little of their glories and to make it sound worse than it was').[86] He went on to observe that it was usually foreigners who wrote about travel, but since their travelling was restricted to a fifteen-day journey around the Mediterranean within sight of land, how much more would they have written if *they* had conquered a whole ocean![87] Pires's words suggest that some Portuguese were very aware of their remarkable achievement and could see it as a Lusitanian national endeavour, but they were also conscious of a general lack of interest or ability in describing it. Why this was could be explored further.[88]

The Portuguese accounts from or about 'abroad' that we do have very quickly problematize some key concepts such as 'home'. Gaspar Frutuoso wrote the first history of the Atlantic islands in the late sixteenth century, recording how the uninhabited Madeira and the Azores had been settled by Europeans since

[84] For some of these problems, see Costa, 'Secrecy, Ostentation and the Illustration of Exotic Animals in Sixteenth-Century Portugal'. The Venetian was Cadamosto (see above note 20) and the best description of Goa was by John van Linschoten: *Voyage*, ed. by Burnell and Tiele, I, 175–241.

[85] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 274.

[86] Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, II, 324–25.

[87] Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, II, 325.

[88] Garcia de Orta was also critical of the Portuguese ability to write well: Costa, 'Geographical Expansion and the Reconfiguration of Medical Authority', p. 76.

around 1420. He entitled his massive study *Saudades da Terra*, which roughly translates as 'homesickness'.[89] Yet Frutuoso's longing here was for the islands, not Portugal. By this stage in the Portuguese expansion, Frutuoso's place of birth in the Azores was his *terra*, his 'home'. The Iberian Peninsula had instead become a place to travel *to* not *from* for the purposes of study or employment; Frutuoso in fact spent many years at the University of Salamanca. For the surgeon Master Afonso, on the other hand, travelling to Portugal from India was definitely a journey *home*. He says little about his actual arrival in Portugal, but his frequent comparisons with the food of Lisbon throughout his journey suggest the centrality of the city in his self-identity.[90] He also refers to his expectation of a speedy arrival in Lisbon, following his departure from La Rochelle by ship: 'o contentamento que levava pareçemdome estar ja em Lisboa' ('the happiness I felt on seeming to be already in Lisbon').[91] However, delays caused by bad weather, caused a subsequent fall into sadness.

Frutuoso's concept of *Saudade* is in fact an important Portuguese emotion, celebrated by migrants and émigrés until the present day, but first described by King Duarte of Portugal (1433–38) in the early fifteenth century as a form of melancholic illness characterized by bittersweet longing and nostalgia. Duarte advised his brother Pedro, Duke of Coimbra (d. 1449), who travelled for several years in Italy and northern Europe in the 1420s, about how to cope with *saudade* while away from Portugal.[92] The few modern studies that there have been of the idea of home also indicate an ambiguous relationship between home as a place to stay in and to leave. As well as often being equated with a house, a place to live, or the landscape one was born in (the dominant idea behind the Portuguese word *terra*), it also involves relationships with family and community and implies a sense both of belonging and of departure. It can equally be a place in which one was not born, but has later adapted to live in and accept as home.[93]

[89] Gaspar Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, ed. by Azevedo.

[90] For example, *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, pp. 154–55, where he compared the tenderness of Middle Eastern partridges to those of the region of Lisbon.

[91] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 308.

[92] King Duarte of Portugal, *Leal Conselheiro*, ed. by Castro, pp. 91–101; Lourenço, *O Labirinto da Saudade*; Botelho, *Da Saudade ao Saudosismo*.

[93] See the modern historical and sociological essays in *Home: A Place in the World*, ed. by Mack. There do not seem to be any theory-driven studies of the idea of 'home' in the Middle Ages, but see *Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World*, ed. by Howe; *Medieval Domesticity*, ed. by Kowaleski and Goldberg.

Scholars working on the history of Africa and America have long been interested in how travellers created new 'homes' for themselves in alien places. Gradually, the links to the place of birth weakened, leading to the creation of dynamic new 'creole' identities that were strengthened once children born 'abroad' grew up in places they saw as home.[94] Travellers of all kinds, both slave and settler, adapted to new customs and lifestyles once they settled down or were forcibly relocated, going on to forge new communities. It has already been mentioned that the Portuguese-sponsored exploration of West Africa challenged ideas about disease and that pre-existing prejudices could be confirmed through negative comparisons with European ideas about health. Yet there was also a practical dimension to travel that sometimes shattered expectations and forced people to adapt to new situations. The number of Portuguese migrants travelling across the world at any time was always small, since during the sixteenth century there were only about a million people who could be described as European Portuguese.[95] The administration of the Portuguese expansion was therefore intimately linked to its limited manpower. There was a reliance on Jews, who were tolerated far later abroad than they were in Portugal itself; convicts, cast out as *lançados* on African shores where they 'went native', as the British would later put it; and, in India, on intermarriage with local women.[96] The letters of the Portuguese viceroy, Afonso de Albuquerque, reveal a fascinating dispute in the newly-conquered Goa in 1512 between a Portuguese physician Master Afonso — not the same person as the surgeon Master Afonso who travelled to Portugal from Goa in 1565–66 — and another Portuguese immigrant over which of them could marry a local woman who had been captured and enslaved for this purpose. Afonso lost the dispute, but was praised for his medical skill and his willingness to remain in the colony.[97] The point is

[94] *Brokers of Change*, ed. by Green; Bethencourt, 'Creolization of the Atlantic World'; Green, 'Building Creole Identity in the African Atlantic'; Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*; *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires*, ed. by Bleichmar, de Vos, Huffine and Sheehan; *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, ed. by Delbourgo and Dew.

[95] This is not an easy figure to come by, due to the problems of national identity discussed earlier, but see *Portugal do Renacimento à Crise Dinástica*, ed. by Dias, pp. 11–52.

[96] Jewish trade networks remained important across both the Spanish and Portuguese empires into the seventeenth century. See the essays by Toby Green and Filipa Rebeiro da Silva in *Brokers of Change*, ed. by Green. For convicts and *lançados*, see Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*; Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion*, pp. 90, 254–55; Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, pp. 60–61.

[97] *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, ed. by Pato, I, 31–32; *Albuquerque, Caesar of the East*,

that Afonso intended to settle down in India with a native wife from whom he would have learned local languages, beliefs, and customs.

The traditional belief that the Portuguese empire was less racist than other imperial regimes was demolished a long time ago by Charles Boxer, but cases such as Afonso's marriage dispute suggest that the Portuguese knew they had to adapt to their new societies in order to be able to settle there.[98] Marriage with local women was central to Albuquerque's policy of conquering coastal enclaves. On the other hand, the case also indicates that Francisco Bethencourt is right to argue that historians focus far too much on European adaptation. Bethencourt believes that scholars must consider 'a native people's capacity to negotiate, absorb, reject or transform external cultural forms and their use of them to assert their position and shape new societies.'[99] The woman involved in the physician Afonso's case appears to have favoured him over the other man, as far as one can tell. She probably had little choice but to adapt to the new circumstances of her life.

From the perspective of medical history, it is particularly interesting to see how travellers adapted to the foodstuffs and medicines that they needed to survive abroad. Sometimes little adaptation was needed. As described earlier, the surgeon Master Afonso, travelling through the Middle East in 1565–66, noted the food and drink he encountered in each town and region. The region around Aleppo was 'fertil de mamtimentos, trigos, ceuadas carnes, azeites, e muy fermosas azeitonas como as cordovis, uvas, e todo genero de fruitas como as nossas em gramde abastamça' ('fertile in foodstuffs: wheat, barley, meat, oil, very beautiful olives like those of Cordoba, grapes, and all kinds of fruits like ours in great abundance').[100] Although he transmits a clear sense of 'ours' and 'theirs',

ed. by Earle and Villiers, p. 97. Afonso had bought her for marriage but the governor had her baptized and married to another man. Afonso, a friar, and the woman herself then connived to declare publicly in church that the marriage was against her will. However, the husband got the governor's support in the matter.

[98] Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*. I also want to avoid falling into the trap of 'lusotropicalism': the myth of a multi-cultural Portuguese empire that succeeded because of miscegenation. This myth underpinned policy in twentieth-century Portuguese Africa. However, there is a big difference between long-term colonial policy backed by a modern European dictatorship and sixteenth-century commercially-inspired expansionism, even if modern proponents of lusotropicalism claimed Albuquerque as their founding hero. See Bastos, 'Race, Medicine and the Late Portuguese Empire'; Pimenta, Sarmento and Azevedo, 'Lusotropicalism'.

[99] Bethencourt, 'Creolization of the Atlantic World', p. 69.

[100] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 250.

Afonso does not seem to have seen Middle Eastern produce as qualitatively different to what he was used to eating in Portugal, although sometimes it could taste better: 'Todas as fruitas que achei por este caminho dei ventagem das nossas, excepto os meloens' ('all the fruit that I found on this journey has the advantage over ours, except the melons').[101] Unfortunately, there has been very little research on medieval or early modern Portuguese food that could enable a better understanding of his perceptions.[102] Hugh Cagle and Timothy Walker have explored the role of colonial hospitals in the maintenance of military capacity, including production of and trade in drugs, but Portuguese encounters with foreign food have hardly been explored at all.[103] In contrast, there has been quite a lot of scholarship on how the Spanish, both the conquistadors and the citizens of metropolitan Spain, encountered new foods and medicines. Rather than enjoying the fruits of the Caribbean, Dr Chanca described how some sailors nearly died from eating them, their faces swelling up alarmingly.[104] He certainly did not share the optimism of Master Afonso in the Middle East. Similarly, although the Spanish both in the colonies and later in Europe grew to enjoy chocolate and pineapple and to trade in new medicines such as guaiacum, a treatment for pox, they were scornful of American maize, potatoes, cassava, and tomatoes.[105] Rebecca Earle has shown how Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries feared that without wheat, pork, and wine the settlers would 'go native'; similarly, the indigenous peoples of the Americas ran the risk of becoming Spaniards if they adapted to such European foods. This fear was based on Greco-Roman and Arabic theories which taught that the human body was made up of the four elements and the four humours. It was thus profoundly affected by changes in food and climate, to the extent that it could itself change both colour and form.[106]

What is striking is that the travel narrative of Master Afonso suggests that this fear of change was not felt by the Portuguese in the Middle East. Not only

[101] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 161.

[102] Arnaut, *Arte de Comer em Portugal*; Costa, 'Geographical Expansion and the Reconfiguration of Medical Authority', pp. 76–77.

[103] Cagle, 'Dead Reckonings'; Walker, 'Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge'.

[104] *Four Voyages*, ed. by Cohen, p. 132.

[105] Norton, 'Tasting Empire'; Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*; Bleichmar, 'Books, Bodies and Fields'; Barrera Osorio, 'Local Herbs, Global Medicines'; Huguet Termes, 'New World *materia medica*'; de Vos, 'Science of Spices'.

[106] Earle, 'If You Eat Their Food...'; Earle, The *Body of the Conquistador*.

did he not see Persian fruit as any different in nature to what he was used to in Portugal, neither did he see much difference in the physical form of the humans he encountered: for example, when visiting Tabriz he says that '[a]s mulheres são muy fermosas e muito naturais portuguesas nas feiçoens e ar dos rostos' ('the women were very beautiful and naturally Portuguese in their figures and facial features').[107] It is probable that the Portuguese saw West Africa as much more alien due to marked differences in the ability of Europeans and indigenous peoples to survive locally-contracted disease. In an anonymous pilot's account of *c*. 1540, such constitutional differences on São Tomé were attributed to climate.[108] The Middle East and India, on the other hand, had a more temperate climate and the Portuguese were already more familiar with some of the peoples of these lands. The first persons encountered by Vasco da Gama on his arrival in India in 1498 were Castilian-speaking Arab merchants.[109]

Due to this familiarity, the apothecary Tomé Pires's lengthy list of drugs and food stuffs, sent to King Manuel in a letter from Cochin in 1516, includes many things that had long been familiar to European tastes such as rhubarb (used as a purgative) and galangal (found in fourteenth-century English recipes). Like Master Afonso, Pires was able to compare and contrast familiar things that grew also in the Iberian Peninsula (like aloes) or things which he knew to be valuable everywhere (such as rubies and pearls). Nevertheless, Pires also created new knowledge about where familiar substances came from and how they were produced. He learned completely new information about how the peoples of India ate, suggesting that there were indeed some differences between European and Indian constitutions:

> the men of these parts can sustain themselves on betel three or four days without eating anything else. It greatly helps digestion, comforts the brain, strengthens the teeth, so that men here who eat it usually have all their teeth, without any missing, even at eighty years of age.[110]

[107] *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por Terra*, ed. by Baião, p. 192.

[108] *Europeans in West Africa*, ed. by Blake, pp. 151–66.

[109] Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, p. 129.

[110] Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, II, 516. The original letter has not been transcribed but is Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Cronológico*, I, maço 19, document 102, and can be downloaded from the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo Search Portal at <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=3769556> [accessed 17 June 2014]. The discourse on chewing betel changed over the sixteenth century from Pires's description of it as health-inducing to Orta's suspicions of it as a subversive practice. See Cagle, 'Dead Reckonings', pp. 138–41.

Pires's most striking remarks are in the post-script to his letter, where he shows that he was very aware of the effects of climate:

> Please your highness not to send from there [Portugal] to here, any compounded medicine of any sort or condition, only turpentine, ceruse, aloes, a little scammony, olive oil from Portugal for the patients' food, mastic, not much, which is expensive here. No other medicines. [...] All can be settled here, with things that exist here, and Your Highness will reduce the expenditure on medicines, for they are of no avail, not only because they come through great heat, but also because here the climate is different.[111]

Pires's mention of 'great heat' may be a reference to the 'torrid zone', the ancient idea that the region between the tropics of Capricorn and Cancer was uninhabitable due to extreme heat. This theory was subject to intense debate even in the thirteenth century, and by the early sixteenth century it was largely meaningless since it had been shown (most fully by the Portuguese) that humans did live in these regions and that Europeans could also thrive there, albeit with some difficulty due to disease. Nevertheless, the concept of the 'torrid zone' lingered as part of geographical knowledge and eventually influenced the emergent new discipline of tropical medicine, a discipline that had as its subject the diseases of warm climates.[112] Pires's observation about the effects of 'great heat' on medicines in this letter may have been purely practical: a journey to India certainly could damage medicines due to very real extremes of temperature. However, he ended by saying that the climate was different *here*. His letter implies that while it was possible to adapt to living in India, it was certainly different to *there*. Like Master Afonso in the Middle East, Pires retained a sense of difference between 'ours' and 'theirs' which had not yet been reversed by longer-term settlement.

Conclusions

One of the greatest influences on Master Afonso, Tomé Pires, and other medical travellers was likely to have been the ancient Hippocratic work *Airs, Waters, Places* (written *c.* 400 BC), although it is never actually cited. In imitation of this work, medieval and early modern medical writers frequently referred to

[111] Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, II, 518.

[112] Suárez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, pp. 66–67; Edson, *The World Map*, pp. 201, 208–09; O'Doherty, 'Fra Mauro's World Map'; Arnold, 'The Indian Ocean as a Disease Zone'; *Warm Climates and Western Medicine*, ed. by Arnold, pp. 5–9.

the climate, water supply, and propensity to disease of each place visited.[113] As Peregrine Horden points out in an essay on travel and medicine, it was understood that travel to new places with a different climate and diet could cause illness and required treatment. Furthermore, the ancient Greek doctor was itinerant, travelling continuously and therefore able to observe the healthy or unhealthy characteristics of each place where he practised.[114] Mobility remained a key characteristic of medical practitioners. In fact, their variable financial stability, similar to commercial traders, and the need to travel to study and find patients, could result in negative attitudes towards medics; the term 'quack' or charlatan sometimes denoted a healer without fixed abode.[115]

The traditional mobility of medical practitioners might suggest that they were well-suited to travel in the early Portuguese empire. They certainly seem to have been viewed as good diplomats, perhaps entrusted with difficult missions due to their reputation for confidentiality. It is possible to argue that their creation of medical knowledge about drugs, climate, and lifestyles could have been extremely useful to imperial policy-making. However, medical knowledge-making was not a passive tool but a dynamic empiricism that helped forge new communities. Experiences of disease challenged Hippocratic ideas about the environment in some regions, but in others created or re-confirmed racial stereotypes. All the sources discussed here were affected by pre-existing political and cultural identities, but they also testified to medical interests and displayed acute skills in observation. Through these observations it becomes possible to glimpse how the Portuguese were viewed by the people they encountered, thus challenging historiographical preconceptions about European superiority, national identity, and empire-building. Relationships were always reciprocal between Portuguese and native peoples, and Portugal was much more peripheral in its 'empire' than might have been expected. Travelling doctors were hardly a new phenomenon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but they took on at that time an important new role in reinterpreting the world. This role deserves much more study in the future to be fully understood.

[113] Wear, 'Place, Health, and Disease'.

[114] Horden, 'Travel Sickness'.

[115] Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy*; Porter, *Quacks; Centres of Medical Excellence?*, ed. by Grell and others.

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Have Crutch, Will Travel: Disabled People on the Move in Medieval Europe

Irina Metzler

Introduction

Since its inception nearly two decades ago the International Medieval Congress has used a colourful and memorable image for its publicity, the image of St Martin dividing his cloak to share with a beggar kneeling at his horse's feet. However, it has been long overdue to draw attention to the disabled person of the beggar in the bottom right hand corner, an omission the present article seeks to rectify. As the thematic strand of the IMC in 2010 was travel, it seemed appropriate to look at whether and how such disabled people travelled during the Middle Ages. Historiographically, most works on travel in the Middle Ages completely omit any mention of disabled people, as indeed do so many other works on medieval culture in general.[1] A rare exception is Norbert

[1] The literature on travel in the Middle Ages is too vast to list here; a few examples from a range of works are given here. Verdun, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, p. 31, briefly mentions in passing that 'a pilgrim reaching his destination would leave his horse, or even his litter if he were infirm, and finish his journey on foot', without a concrete example of a disabled person.

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Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder, IMR 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 91–117
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.5.105543

Figure 4.1. St Martin in a French psalter and breviary of the fifteenth century. Leeds, University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 2, fol. 245^{v}. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Department of Special Collections, Leeds University Library.)

Ohler's general survey of medieval travel, which at least cites one lone example from 1232 of a disabled person — in the context of the speed of travel, here one kilometre per day — from the *miracula* of St Elizabeth, significantly also noting the value of such a source for the more general history of travel.[2] One would expect slightly more concern with the means of travel of disabled people in works on medieval pilgrimage, considering that travel to a shrine in the hope of a cure was one of the main motivations for undertaking a pilgrimage in the first place, but these texts too retain a terse silence on the subject. Perhaps most modern scholars simply take it for granted that to register in any form of source on miracle healing at a shrine, the disabled pilgrim had to get there, somehow.[3]

Mobility is one of the key issues in modern disability politics, since access, or lack thereof, to public buildings and spaces constitutes one form of restriction imposed on the contemporary disabled person.[4] Physical barriers to movement, building architecture that prevents people such as wheelchair-users from entering unaided, and public transport that is likewise inaccessible for disabled

The classic treatment by Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 192, covers the subject of disabled travellers in a single sentence. On the historiographical invisibility of the disabled in pre-modern times see the discussion in Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, pp. 11–20.

[2] Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, p. 138. The disabled person was a twenty-one-year-old man from Grünberg in Hesse, who was lame in one leg so that he needed five weeks to cover the approximately thirty-five kilometres from his town to Marburg; see *The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. and trans. by Wolf, p. 144, miracle MI 69. No mention is made, unfortunately, of how the man actually moved or what mobility aids he may have used, only that he made his way without the help of other people.

[3] Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, somewhat trivializes the experience of disabled supplicants in her only hint at the actual circumstances of travel: 'Few pilgrimages involving a journey of considerable length were likely to be undertaken for merely "problem-solving" or therapeutic purposes, and any shrine would do for pilgrims of limited means and stamina', p. 54. In her earlier work, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, p. 152, Webb had cited two examples of mobility methods by disabled pilgrims in miracles associated with St James (see below) but restricted analysis to the observation that illness or injury could prevent the actual commencement of a pilgrimage (p. 85). A book aimed at the more general reader, Hopper's *To Be a Pilgrim*, summarizes the 'experience' of disabled pilgrims in two sentences, one referring to medieval miracles, the other to modern ones: 'Documentary evidence lists a significant number of miracle cures divinely dispensed to those arriving at shrines with physical ailments' (p. 7); and a comparison with Lourdes today 'which sees thousands of modern pilgrims arriving, many wheelchair-bound, in hope of a modern-day miracle' (p. 126).

[4] See Imrie, *Disability and the City*, on the interrelationships between disability, physical access and the built environment.

passengers are some of the more common hindrances to mobility for the modern disabled person. Space, then, and 'related concepts such as mobility and accessibility' are 'profoundly important to the lived experience of disability' today.[5] Examining the issue of personal mobility is therefore an important aspect of gaining some understanding of the overall lived experience of medieval disabled persons, which furthermore allows us to recover and (re)construct a history of disability.

Modern studies of disability and space have looked at the marginalization of disabled people, linked by social geographers such as Brendan Gleeson especially to the rise of capitalism and, in the industrial city, to 'the new separation of home and work, a socio-spatial phenomenon which was all but absent in [what he calls] the feudal era'.[6] Industrial modes of production, with their emphasis on competitive, regulated productivity (one may think here of the factory worker at the conveyor belt), certainly marginalized what Karl Marx, prescient as so often, had already called an 'incapable' social stratum.[7] However, it would be too simplistic to apply such analyses wholesale to the pre-modern past, since even the most developed mercantile or proto-capitalist regions of Europe, for instance the northern Italian city-states or the Flemish towns, lacked the infrastructure and institutions, such as workhouses and of course the determinant factories, that characterized a fully industrialized society.[8] The disablement caused by capitalism and industrialization has been regarded as the antithesis of the 'power for self-creation' of the old, 'feudal' peasant society, where the impaired body was believed to be 'an autonomous creator of social space', that is, able to influence both the social and spatial aspects of one's environment.[9] The present study of the mobility of impaired medieval persons aims to describe and interpret the extent to which such people may or may not have been able to act 'autonomously'. If the desired autonomy of mobility in our society is achieved through technological aids, such as wheelchairs, elevators,

[5] Gleeson, *Geographies of Disability*, p. 1.

[6] Gleeson, 'The Social Space of Disability', p. 94.

[7] Marx, *Capital*, III, 366. However, the infamous phrase 'Lumpenproletariat' which he coined to include widows, the elderly, orphans, the sick, and 'the mutilated and the victims of industry' (i.e. people disabled in industrial accidents) reads almost like any list of the 'deserving poor' from the ubiquitous moral and religious tracts of the later Middle Ages.

[8] See Metzler, *Disability*, pp. 25–26 for further reasons why the materialist model of socio-spatial disability, while perfectly suited to explain the situation in industrialized societies, is inadequate for understanding impairment in the medieval (or any pre-modern) period.

[9] Gleeson, *Geographies of Disability*, p. 97.

or computerized voice-synthesizers, then surely such means were lacking in the pre-modern, pre-technical past. How then did disabled people in the Middle Ages achieve mobility, and to what degree was this dependent on others?

Disability and Long-Distance Travel

Contrary to modern stereotypes of the immobile, impoverished 'cripple', physically impaired people did travel in the Middle Ages, and some of them traversed considerable distances.[10] The 'why' of travel is intrinsically connected with the main sources employed in this instance, namely miracle narratives, for details of the 'how' of travel. Apart from very rare, completely incidental glimpses of the mobility of the disabled in other sources, miracle narratives, focusing as they do on a kind of before-and-after storyline, provide by far the best and most detailed type of source for descriptions of disabilities in general, and mobility in particular. Despite having religious and exhortatory moral tales as their main motives, miracle accounts in fact provide a wealth of incidental detail with regard to age, gender, material circumstances, and physical condition of their protagonists, which is of value to cultural and social history.

What kinds of people travelled to shrines and how mobile were they? A typical list of the kind of physical ailments and disabilities seemingly healed at the shrine of a saint is provided around 1172–73 by the compiler-author of the miracles of St William of Norwich:

> Nempe uidimus quam plurimos uariis per multum tempus laborantes incommodis, cecos, mutos, surdos, claudos, incuruos, contractos, scabellarios, turgidos, ydropsicos, ulcerosos, gutturnosos, furibundos, aliosque multos utriusque sexus diuersis languoribus morbidos.
>
> But we have seen full many people labouring under various inconveniences, blind, dumb, deaf, lame, hump-backed, bent, going on all fours, people with swellings, with the dropsy, with ulcers and wens, mad people, and many others of both sexes diseased with every sort of complaint.[11]

[10] Gleeson, *Geographies of Disability*, pp. 62–66 has drawn attention among social scientists to what he termed the 'beggared view of history', whereby historiography has assumed all impaired persons were invariably beggars in pre-modern times.

[11] *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, ed. and trans. by Jessop and James, Book 2, c. 8, p. 86. Unless already translated by the (modern) editor, as here, all other translations are my own.

Similar groups of people, the blind, deaf, dumb, lame, crippled and contorted, gout-ridden, and epileptic, are identified in the miracle healings which accompanied St Bernard of Clairvaux's 1146 preaching (and publicity) tour of Germany. Seeking healing, such people laboriously made their way to the places Bernard visited, or were brought to him, as at Frankfurt, with the wealthier folk travelling in litters or on carts.[12] In 1145 Pope Eugenius III observed the efficacy of the relics of St James at Pistoia, by means of which 'the lame, the paralysed and those weakened by various other afflictions, have received their hoped-for remedy in that place'.[13] Two examples of travel to Pistoia will be cited below.

Disabled people travelled longer distances primarily to attend healing shrines in the hope for a cure, which is why miracle narratives mention modes of travel. The miracle stories occasionally go into details of how impaired persons actually managed the sometimes long and difficult pilgrimage to a healing shrine. More often than not, if the sources mention modes of transport at all, travel by the disabled was heavily reliant on help given by other people, either in the form of financial support to cover the costs of travel or active personal support, such as physically carrying the impaired person around.[14] Modes of transport to a shrine also shed some light on how impaired people may have travelled on other occasions, such as mobility in daily life.

Details seem to be provided mainly in unusual circumstances, in other words, when the mode of transport is interesting enough to warrant a special mention by the writer. The usual method for a pilgrim without a physical impairment to reach a shrine was on foot, by walking, for reasons in part connected with the spiritual state of the pilgrim and religious convention, symbolizing humility. Even rich pilgrims who could afford horses 'usually dismounted to walk the last few miles of their journey, as an act of piety'.[15] In those cases

[12] Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, p. 264; on Bernard's tour see also *Das Leben des heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux (Vita Prima)*, ed. and trans. by Sinz.

[13] *Acta Sanctorum*, 6 July, pp. 27–28, cited in translation by Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 151.

[14] The medieval sources can be as silent as modern historiography on the topic of disability. As Gleeson has surmised, 'there is a very serious absence of historical records concerning disabled people in previous societies', in part perhaps 'attributable to the fact that in previous European societies, disability was an unremarkable, not to say pervasive, fact of social life': Gleeson, 'The Social Space', p. 93. Because miracle narratives are concerned with the remarkable, namely in these cases the cure of incurable conditions, impairment does become visible to a greater extent than in other types of sources.

[15] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 48. In his later book on child miracles (Finucane,

where pilgrims were unable to walk, then, writers sometimes mention whichever alternative form of transport was used. The emphasis placed on walking as the 'correct' way for a pilgrim to reach a shrine becomes apparent when one reads of those miracles where the disabled are singled out for praise by the writers for the effort they have undergone in walking, crawling or otherwise moving themselves by their own ability on their journey to the shrine.

In the case of mobility impaired people, the most frequent form of transport to a shrine was constituted by actually being carried there by other, able-bodied people. Most of the time, the sources purely mention that the protagonist was 'brought' to the shrine without further information.[16] However, when more details are mentioned, the texts speak of the impaired person being carried to the site.[17] How exactly people were carried is sometimes detailed: a nine year old girl was carried by her father in a basket on his back to St Elizabeth's shrine at the first attempt to gain a miracle healing, which did not succeed.[18] On a second attempt, her mother and (step)father carried the girl to the shrine again, this time in a litter, which they left next to the sepulchre.[19] Evidence for baskets as transport can be gained from alternative sources too, such as an illumination in an early fourteenth-century manuscript, where a small child is carried in a woven (wicker) basket on the back of the father who is taking part in a procession.[20] The child in this scene is not disabled, but the small size hints

The Rescue of the Innocent), the author makes more mention of the mobility or immobility of his case studies.

[16] For example, a woman with hands and arms contracted since birth was brought to St Godric's shrine by others, and a man was taken to the same shrine by his friends: *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, ed. by Stevenson, miracle nos 182 and 187; Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, trans. by van Dam, miracle 2. 4 (young slave brought by his master), 3. 27 (boy paralysed for six years and carried about with difficulty by his parents is brought by them), 3. 26 (young woman who asked to be brought to the church), or 2. 14 (paralysed girl brought by her father, but spending three months begging alms at the feet of St Martin before her cure).

[17] For instance Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, miracle 3. 6, where a boy whose limbs were described as being twisted like ropes asked his parents to carry him to the holy church.

[18] Jansen, *Medizinische Kasuistik*, miracle MI 3; Wolf's recent English translation mentions that the girl's stepfather carried her on his back: *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. Wolf, p. 100.

[19] *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. Wolf, p. 101.

[20] In a scene in the *Roman de Fauvel* made in 1316: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 146, fol. 36^{v}.

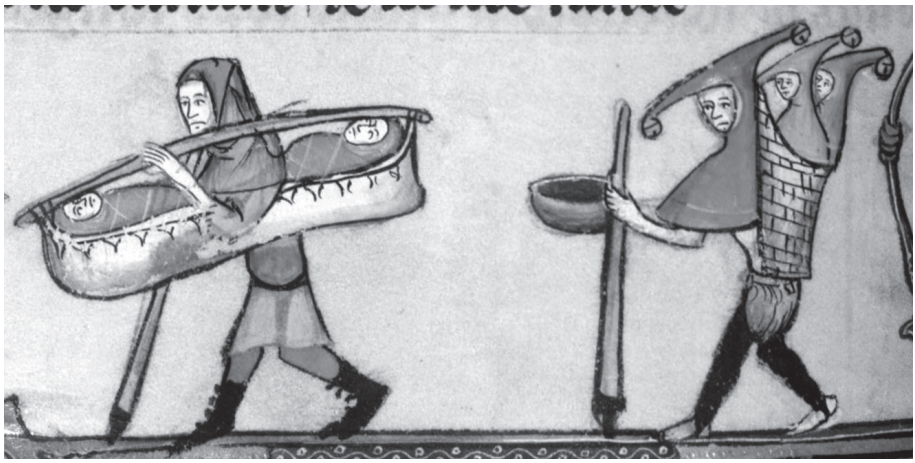

Figure 4.2. Detail from a *Romance of Alexander* made between 1338–1344 by the Flemish illuminator Jehan de Grise and his workshop. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, fol. 133^{v} (courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).

at a very young child who has perhaps not learned to walk yet. In a way, such young toddlers or infants are 'temporarily disabled', in that they are disadvantaged by adult-sized surroundings. Modern children in the developed world are placed in prams and pushchairs until they are competent walkers. This is not necessarily done for the child's benefit alone, since, more importantly, from the parents' perspective, children need to be fast enough walkers to keep up with parental strides. It is therefore not far-fetched to surmise the possibility that analogous devices, such as baskets, were used to transport to shrines those disabled children who were still small and light-weight enough to be carried in such a fashion.

Another girl taken to the same shrine on two occasions was first carried in a small box or chest since she could not be transported any other way, and then a year later, presumably because she had grown larger, she was carried in a different contraption which was described as similar to the kind porters of goods use.[21] Manuscript illuminations can again provide alternative sources for these particular forms of transport, corroborating the textual evidence. For example,

[21] 'weil sie nicht anders transportiert werden konnte' and 'die die Träger verschiedener Güter benutzen', *Medizinische Kasuistik*, ed. by Jansen, miracle MII 12 ('otherwise it would have been impossible to get here there' and 'the kind that porters use', *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. Wolf, p. 177).

in a fourteenth-century manuscript, a family of itinerant fools is shown carrying their four children in two types of contraptions, the babies or infants in a kind of bed or large cradle which has a pole across it for a handle, allowing one fool to carry it over his shoulder, while two slightly older children are carried in the type of wicker basket described above on the back of the second adult fool.

A family in flight is depicted in an early fourteenth-century manuscript, where the father carries two small children on his back in the by now familiar wicker basket, while the mother carries their baby in its cradle on her head, with two slightly older children, who must be capable of competent walking, following behind on foot.[22] This second image literally illustrates the hierarchy of mobility methods used by different ages and abilities, from the totally immobile baby via the semi-mobile (but frustratingly slow) toddlers to the fully mobile older children walking by themselves.

At the shrine of St Mary at Rocamadour in the 1170s, an adult man arrived after having himself carried there in a basket.[23] An old woman was carried to a procession in honour of St Foy in a shabby litter, due to her poverty and lack of means.[24] Litters were also used by the disabled. At Hereford around 1290 one could have observed several litters on the floor of the cathedral, which pilgrims could have hired for a penny or more to transport them from nearby villages.[25] Litters were also used by secular or clerical persons, even of high status, for regular travel on occasions when they might be too old, too sick or simply too pampered to ride a horse.[26]

How such a litter may have looked like in practice can be evidenced from two fifteenth-century illuminations. An illumination in Jehan Henry's *Livre de vie active*, produced at Paris in 1482/3 for the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu, shows a sick (or disabled) man being carried on a litter to the hospital, where one of the sisters awaits to receive him. The litter consists of two long poles connected with shorter pieces at regular intervals, reminiscent of a short ladder placed on

[22] Detail from an *Apocalypse en image* made 1313, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 13096, fol. 60^{v}.

[23] *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, trans. by Bull, miracle I.38.

[24] *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. by Sheingorn, miracle F 2.4.

[25] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 86, based on *The Life and Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe*, pp. 622–23.

[26] Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, p. 50, citing the case of Albero, archbishop of Trier, who travelled to a synod in Reims in 1148 carried in a leather litter supported between two horses and lined inside with the finest linen, which aroused disapproving comments as well as amazement.

its side. Two men carry the litter by holding on to the ends of the poles, which also have a strap of leather or rope connected to them, so that each carrier can support the weight with his shoulders as well as his hands. The sick man is reclining on the litter, while holding on to the frames making up the sides. A similar litter is depicted in the early fifteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi*, in a scene of Christ healing the paralytic man — a miracle narrated in three of the four Gospels, namely Mark 2. 12, Luke 5. 18–25, and Matthew 9. 2–7 — where again the litter is supported by straps across the back and shoulders of the porters as well as by being carried manually.[27]

Transport could also be provided by animals. An old man who had been mobility-impaired since his youth was helped to a procession in honour of St Foy by some young people who readied animal transport for him, placing him on the beast of burden.[28] In the miracles of St William of Norwich a woman called Matilda who suffered from severe curvature of the spine used to be laid like a sack across a horse whenever she desired to visit a shrine: '[q]uam si quandoque recuperande sanitatis gratia sacra uisitare loca concupisset, illuc equo ad instar sacci pleni in transuersum deportare faciebat' ('[w]hen she desired to visit holy sites to regain her health, she was carried by being laid like a full sack across a horse').[29] And in the miracles of Simon de Montfort another woman was lifted by her family onto a specially adapted feather-cushioned saddle.[30] Once again, the visual evidence corroborating the textual sources, however, tends to show smaller, less mobile children. An early fifteenth-century image showing a group of travelling 'Tartars' (Mongols) shows children being carried in panniers either side of a donkey.[31] The pannier looks somewhat like a modern fruit crate, in other words a box-like structure made out of wooden slats, which is connected to the other pannier across the donkey's back by two broad straps.

[27] In an early fifteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi* London, British Library, MS Royal 20.B.IV, fol. 61^{v}.

[28] *The Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and trans. by Sheingorn, miracle L.3.

[29] *The Life and Miracles of St William*, ed. by Jessop and James, miracle VI.xi.

[30] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 86. Compare *The Miracles of Simon de Montfort*, ed. by Halliwell, pp. 82 and 108.

[31] Early fifteenth-century *Livre des merveilles du monde* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2810, fol. 255^{r}. The image represents a group of travelling Tartars, hence nomadic peoples, but the dress and equipment are thoroughly European — only a rather fanciful camel hints at the exotic Eastern location of this scene.

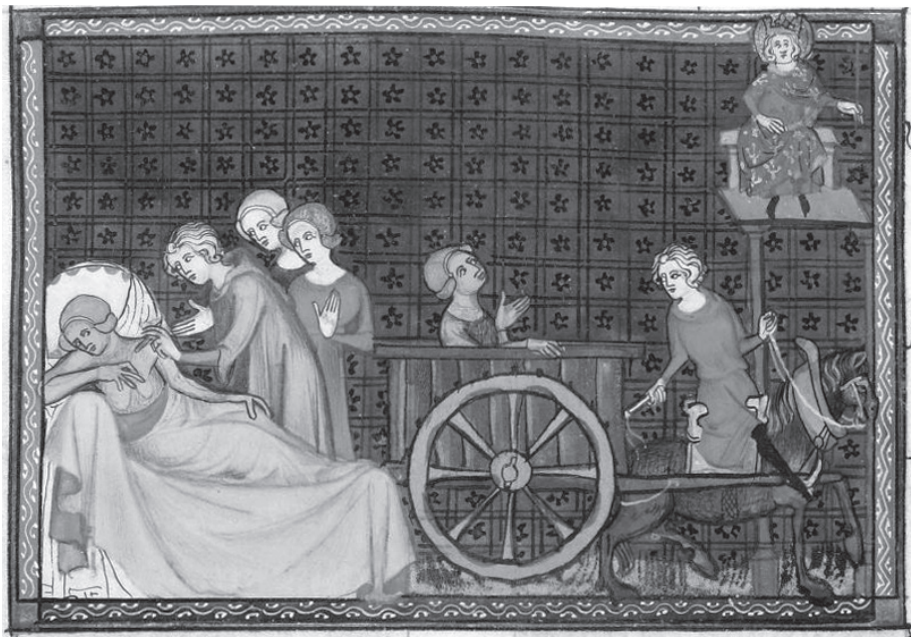

Figure 4.3. Illustration of Miracle no. 39 in *Les miracles de St Louis*, produced *c.* 1330, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 5716, fol. 517^{r} (reproduced with permission).

Several instances of vehicular transport of the disabled are mentioned in the miracle depositions of St Elizabeth made at her shrine in Marburg and dating from the 1230s. A woman impaired by 'weakness' to the extent that she could not even get out of bed and had to be carried by others when it was necessary for her to move was taken to the shrine in a cart or carriage, which broke down *en route*, but by this stage, due to her proximity to the shrine, she was recovering already so that she could continue her pilgrimage using two crutches, mobility aids that she had on hand for her journey home.[32] She was, therefore, not fully healed, as we would understand it, since she required the crutches, returning home walking with her canes, yet according to medieval mentalities her physical improvement constituted a miracle worthy of recording.[33] A woman from Florence took her son, 'who was paralysed and so hunchbacked that his head almost stuck to his knees', in a basket placed in a cart to the relics of St James

[32] *Medizinische Kasuistik*, ed. by Jansen, miracle MI 19; also *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. Wolf, p. 112.

[33] *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. by Wolf, p. 112.

at Pistoia, where in this instance a full cure took place.[34] A two-wheeled cart is depicted in one image that ties in directly with the miracle narrative, stemming from a fourteenth-century French illustrated copy of the *Miracles of St Louis*, where Nicole, a physically impaired woman is taken in such a cart to the shrine on the right of the picture, while to the left she is shown reclining disabled and immobile in her bed.

In addition to references to modes of transportation in miracle narratives and artistic representations, we can also find evidence in the form of miniature votive offerings left at shrines. A list of 1307 from the shrine of Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford mentions 'three vehicles in wood and one in wax, left by cured cripples'.[35] Such votive offerings were often left in fulfilment of a vow to the saint in question, especially wax models of body parts and sometimes also candles measured to be the same height as the person asking for a cure. In addition, votive offerings acted as powerful advertisements for the powers of a given saint, something the written sources, the *miracula*, of course did also rather effectively, promoting a steady stream of pilgrims — and hence income for the shrine — for years, sometimes decades.

More unusual modes of transport, according to modern standards, included, for instance, the bed or box placed on a sledge, in which a father transported his severely disabled daughter to the shrine of St Liudger at Essen-Werden. As in the example from the *miracula* of St Louis cited above, in the manuscript of St Liudger's miracles, dating to around 1100, text and image accompany each other: the image clearly shows what the text describes, namely the curved runners of the sledge beneath an elongated box, more like a coffin than a bed, but padded with cushions and blankets in which the disabled girl reclines.[36] That transporting a sick or disabled person in a bed was not that unusual in the Middle Ages is borne out by the evidence of a bishop, who in 1025, when required to attend a meeting, refused on the grounds of his illness, only to be told that was no excuse, as he could have himself carried in his bed to the conference location.[37]

[34] *Acta Sanctorum*, 6 July, pp. 63–64, cited in translation by Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 152.

[35] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 101 and n. 52.

[36] *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, made at Werden *c.* 1100, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. lat. theol. fol. 323^{r}.

[37] Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, p. 30, who regrettably does not supply any further reference to this event.

In saints' *vitae* of St Gall dating from the ninth century, a lame and crippled boy from Orléans travelled with his father on a small push-cart first to Rome and subsequently to St Gall, where he was healed in 864.[38] A contraption like a wheelbarrow was used for a ten-year-old boy with a curved spine and a humped back, who was brought to Norwich in a handbarrow (*manuali uehitur uehiculo*).[39] In two instances from the miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe, supplicants were brought to the shrine in a wheelbarrow: in around 1300 a person from London was pushed all the way to Evesham in a barrow with one wheel and two feet, while another contemporary person was transported by wheelbarrow from London to Hereford.[40] The best-known image of a disabled person in a wheelbarrow is probably the one found in the Luttrell Psalter, dating to the first third of the fourteenth century and reproduced in countless books on medieval social history, where a man with withered or leprous hands and feet receives alms from a second man, while a third man behind pushes the wheelbarrow, which is supported by a strap across his back, just as were the litters mentioned above.[41] Less well-known, but emphasizing the ubiquity of the wheelbarrow as mobility-aid for orthopedically impaired people in the Middle Ages, is an image found in the margin of a thirteenth-century manu-

[38] Duft, *Notker der Arzt*, pp. 18–19, referring to miracle no. 13 from the *Relatio de Sancto Otmaro*, written by Iso of St Gall in 864–67. This is an interesting mode of transport for the date of the miracle. Theoretically, this push-cart should not be equated with what we would think of as a wheelbarrow. The wheelbarrow only appeared in Western Europe in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, as an import from China: Gies and Gies, *Cathedral, Forge, and Waterwheel*, p. 92.

[39] *The Life and Miracles of St William*, ed. by Jessop and James, miracle VI.xii. Since this text was composed in the 1170s, it is possible that this 'handbarrow' could actually be a wheelbarrow.

[40] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 86, citing evidence from *The Life and Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe, Acta Sanctorum*, 1 October 1765, pp. 650 and 689. In his later book on child miracles, Finucane also cites the same miracle, this time in more detail. The protagonist of the cure was a nineteen year old girl, Alice, who had been crippled by accident some ten years earlier. Together with her father, who sometimes carried her about on a day-to-day basis when she did not drag herself along the ground after her him, she lived by begging in London. In 1303 Alice's father decided to appeal to St Thomas Cantilupe, and began collecting and saving up enough alms to purchase a wheelbarrow, in which he then placed his daughter and wheeled her all the way from London to Hereford. Finucane quotes the notary's report from the shrine, who described it as 'parvum currum unius rote quem pater ante se manibus pellebat' ('a little cart with one wheel which her father pushed in front of him with his hands'): Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents*, p. 122 and p. 240 n. 93.

[41] London, British Library, MS Add. 42130, fol. 186^{v}.

script from Oxford, in which a naked man holding a leper's clapper sits within the wheelbarrow being pushed along by another.[42] A more satirical representation can be found in another lavishly illustrated manuscript, a *Romance of Alexander* made between 1338 and 1344 by noted French illuminator Jehan de Grise and his workshop; here an ape is pushing the wheelbarrow in which two (presumably non-disabled) apes are sitting.[43] The animal symbolism is not just a fanciful piece of marginal decoration or humorous interlude, but can also be read as an imitation of the human world, in that the apes are literally aping common human activities. In this satirical sense one should also read the depictions of old men and women being transported to the Fountain of Youth, in a fresco of mid-fifteenth century date at the Castella della Manta in Cuneo. An old man reaching up out of the rather luxuriously broad and cushioned wheelbarrow which his equally old wife has been pushing admonishes her to stop drinking and quickly get him to the Fountain in time.[44] Yet decreased mobility in old age is also a real condition, and the elderly disabled may well have relied on such means of transport. Both a wheelbarrow of the Luttrell-type and a board of the kind used by masons to transport heavy building materials can be found in another Fountain of Youth image in a tapestry made around 1430 at Strasbourg, where they are used to carry two old women.[45]

The wheelchair has come to be the most common mobility aid for modern orthopedically or neurologically impaired people, to the point that the wheelchair epitomizes disability as such; one need only think of the contemporary signage, where, rightly or wrongly, person-in-wheelchair symbolizes *all* disabled people. But the elusive history of the wheelchair in the Middle Ages presents few, if any, examples of such devices. What sparse scholarship there is on the history of the wheelchair mentions the wheelbarrow as an early form of mobility aid. Apparently wheelchairs as we know them were not in evidence before the sixteenth century, when small rollers or wheels were added to normal household furniture such as upholstered chairs. These were then primar-

[42] From a richly-illuminated copy of Aristotle's *Libri naturales* made in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, probably at Oxford. The image is at the beginning of Book 4: London, British Library, MS Harley 3487, fol. 22^{v}.

[43] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, part 1, fol. 98^{v}.

[44] Fresco of the mid fifteenth century at Cuneo, Castello della Manta; two stereotypes are here rolled into one image: that of the inebriate old woman, and that of the cantankerous, valetudinarian old man.

[45] Now at Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden.

ily intended for easier movement of the piece of furniture rather than of the person.[46] However, an intriguing device is mentioned in connection with one of the popes. Honorius IV had severe gout and was already very old when he came to office in 1285. He could only celebrate mass with the aid of a special chair made for him, which contemporary accounts describe: 'Cui pedum ac manuum fere ossa abstulerat artetica aegritudo; unde sedendo in sella, ad hoc artificiose facta missarum solemnia celebravit' ('the gouty sickness had taken away almost all the bones of his feet and hands; for this reason he solemnly celebrated the mass whilst sitting in a chair that had been specially made for the purpose').[47] Some scholars are of the opinion that this sounds very much like a modern Zimmer frame, but, since a Zimmer frame is nothing like a chair, and does not allow the user to sit down, this is unlikely.[48] Personally, I think this is the closest candidate we have for a medieval wheelchair, since a wheeled chair, with its fluid movement, would have allowed Honorius IV to move around solemnly during Mass. Constructing a wheelchair like the modern contraption would certainly not have been beyond the technical means of the later thirteenth century, hence the question arises of why such chairs were apparently not made. The answer must lie with suitability and infrastructure. Wheelchairs of the modern variety require a flat, level surface to be practical. In the absence of such surfaces in the streets, tracks, and roads of medieval Europe, a wheelchair would simply have been no use. The interior of St Peter's in Rome, where Honorius IV officiated, would of course have had level paving, but outside of this edifice even he must have relied on other mobility aids.

That technically a wheel(ed)chair was possible can be demonstrated from examples of similar, but not identical, medieval contraptions. In the *miracula* of St William, an impaired girl was brought to Norwich by her father 'in uehiculo rotatili aduehitur, quod ciueriam appellant' ('in a wheeled vehicle of the kind called a litter (civière)'), and on the same day her miracle cure occurred, a lame boy was brought by his father 'itidem in ciueria aduehitur rotatili' ('also in a litter with wheels').[49] The fact that the *miracula* text specifies wheels on the

[46] Kamenetz, 'A Brief History of the Wheelchair', pp. 205–10.

[47] *Willelmi Rishanger, Chronica et Annales*, ed. by Riley, p. 109.

[48] Linehan, *The Ladies of Zamora*, p. 1.

[49] *The Life and Miracles of St William*, ed. by Jessop and James, miracle VII.xvi. 'Civière' in modern French can mean a stretcher, litter or wheelbarrow in English. The fluidity of the term implies that it was perhaps not the most common word, and that Thomas of Monmouth, author of the *St William* narrative, as well as his nineteenth-century editors, were struggling to describe the device used as mobility aid.

Figure 4.4. *Thebaid* (around 1410), by Gherardo Starnina, now in Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (Photo by DeAgostini/Getty Images; used with permission.)

litters means these were not the regular litters described above, carried by two men, which begs the question: what exactly were they? One possibility is suggested again from artistic sources. A device resembling a modern-day armchair made out of wicker and fitted with two large wheels can be seen in a panel painting made by Gherardo Starnina, possibly for a predella, depicting hermits in the *Thebaid* of about 1410.

An elderly hermit is seated in this chair, reading, while he is being pulled along by an animal harnessed to his vehicle. The overall scene may be highly imaginary, but since many other realistic elements are depicted, such as another hermit transported in the more conventional wheelbarrow frequently encountered, or two more hermits carried in litters resembling the canvas stretchers used today by ambulance crews, the little wicker wheel(ed)chair is a distinct possibility.

This survey of modes of transport used for travel to a shrine demonstrates the widely differing types of mobility experienced by the supplicants. Undoubtedly, social status and economic position were reflected in the mode of transport, so that those lower down the scale were more likely to use the more economical

alternative of being carried by a relative or friend, while those with more material means had access to horse-drawn vehicles or servants who could take them to shrines.[50] Christian Laes's analysis of the early medieval miracles narrated by Gregory of Tours concludes that '[i]n most cases, those of impaired mobility had to be carried around either by other people, or on a cart drawn by animals. Sometimes, they could help themselves with sticks'.[51] The wide variety of transportation also shows how people tried to make do according to their circumstances. In the Middle Ages, before the confirmed invention of the wheelchair, mobility of the disabled was not necessarily curtailed or restricted, but relied on improvisation, making the most use of already existing transportation methods — carts, baskets, and handbarrows — and adapting them for the specific needs of the impaired.

Getting Around Close to Home

Having looked at how impaired people made the often long journeys to shrines, I turn now to an investigation of the day-to-day, personal mobility of such people. The same sources that provide information about long-range mobility sometimes also mention how people moved (or could not move, as the case might be) in their home environment, prior to receiving their miraculous cure, therefore allowing us to gain some understanding of how mobile an orthopedically impaired person was.

Crutches, either described as such, or simply referred to as sticks,[52] were the most often used mobility aid, sometimes being specially adapted, such as a pair of padded crutches presented to an impaired boy in the twelfth century by a Lincoln priest, so that the boy's skin would not be damaged.[53] Depictions of

[50] As in the case of a woman assisted by her servants in the St Godric stories: *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, ed. by Stevenson, miracle no. 142.

[51] Laes, 'Disabled Children in Gregory of Tours', p. 46; Compare Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, miracle 2. 5 (for the person carried by hands of others), 3. 15 (mobile with the support of two young boys), 2. 6 and 4. 30 (man brought in a wagon and woman carried about by the oxen hauling the wagon on which she had been placed), and 2. 47 for the story of an impaired man whose only ox hauled him on a wagon through the settlement while he was begging alms from the pious.

[52] For instance Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, miracle 3. 9 (man who manufactured a peg leg for himself out of a wooden staff with leather padding on top); 3. 14 (man who walked with two crutches); 4. 41 (use of peg leg which is described as customary for the lame).

[53] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 86. Finucane's irritating method of annotation in

crutches, walking sticks, or canes are ubiquitous in medieval scenes of supplicants approaching shrines. To cite a few examples from different media and periods, one may refer to the depiction in the stained glass, made around 1180, of the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral, showing the orthopedically impaired daughters of Godbold of Boxley on their pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas Becket; the T-shaped crutches left as votive offerings to St Louis in an illumination of the 1330s; or the old man with a pair of crutches approaching the shrine of St Wolfgang at the Abersee (Austria) on the altar painting (1471–81) by Michael Pacher.[54] Much rarer are archaeological finds supporting the material evidence for crutches, presumably because of their 'low-tech' nature and cheap, perishable material (wood). Most crutches were simply discarded once rendered redundant, be it due to wear and tear or even because their owner no longer needed them or died.[55] In the miracles of St Elizabeth, the point is made about the adaptation of mobility aids for the specific needs of the individual. A man of about fifty, they relate, was so 'crippled' in one leg that he could only drag himself about with the aid of two specially manufactured sticks or crutches, otherwise his walking ability was completely immobilized and he had to crawl about in his house.[56]

Severely orthopedically-impaired people in many cultures, past and present, without access to western technical solutions to enhance local mobility, may be encountered in descriptions as crawling.[57] However, in medieval sources in particular, when mention is made of the crawling movement of a disabled person, one might interpret this as someone using the frequently-depicted hand-

his earlier work does not allow the reader to follow up his sources with certainty. His example could come from a miracle of St Frideswide or of St Hedwig. Elsewhere, Finucane mentions Ceptus, a boy, in connection with a miracle by Clara of Montefalco, who used crutches because his 'feet were so twisted that he walked on the sides rather than the soles of his feet': Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents*, p. 58.

[54] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 5716, fol. 542^{v}, concerning the miracle of a woman who regained use of her limbs at the tomb of St Louis; Michael Pacher, detail of St Wolfgang healing a mad woman, high altar of St Wolfgang, Abersee, near Salzburg.

[55] As happened to two crutches whose fragments were found in a cesspit associated with St Anne's hospital in Magdeburg (Germany), in a context indicating a thirteenth to sixteenth century date: Kahlow, 'Prothesen im Mittelalter'.

[56] *Medizinische Kasuistik*, ed. by Jansen, miracle MI 62; also *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. Wolf, p. 139.

[57] For an ethnographic perspective, see the collection of essays in *Disability and Culture*, ed. by Ingstad and Whyte, or the comparative overview by Neubert and Cloerkes, *Behinderung und Behinderte in verschiedenen Kulturen*.

trestles (see below), which allow a form of movement quite different from literally crawling as the modern usage of the word implies. The implication seems to be that the man described as crawling in the miracles of St Elizabeth used his mobility aids for going out, but for one reason or another found it preferable to move around his home environment by crawling. This may have been because it was a form of mobility he could achieve independently of help from other people. However, it is possible that such severely-impaired people experienced the pressure of a cultural imperative to be a biped in public as a defining mark of what makes a person human. Cultural pressure, of the sort that was experienced even in recent times by thalidomide victims, may have led disabled people sometimes to use certain mobility aids when out and about in public, and others when alone in private. In the 1960s, various mobility aids were tested and almost forced on children who, as victims of the thalidomide scandal, had impaired movement. Many of the children involved had found the crutches they had been given painful and preferred to crawl, but were not allowed to do so and were told they should learn to walk properly.[58] Dependency on other people for mobility is a topos in medieval miracle accounts, too. In the twelfth-century miracles associated with St James at Pistoia, a man living eight miles away is mentioned, who 'had been suffering such affliction in his muscles for nearly two years that he could not move himself from any place unless he was dragged by someone'. Nevertheless, he 'hastened to the basilica of St Zeno' — how he achieved this the source unfortunately omits to specify — and obtained the cure he had been seeking.[59]

[58] An experience corroborated by the following statement made by MP Martin Caton to the British parliament in 2009: 'Before the establishment of the Thalidomide Trust, which was later to protect the interests of those children, they were subject to well-meaning but questionable and certainly unwelcome professional attention. Some endured a series of operations intended to make them look "more normal", such as constructing ears where they had none or removing vestigial digits. There was a drive to find functional artificial arms, but experience of them as children put the majority of thalidomiders off such prosthetics in adult life'. Statement from a House of Commons Westminster Hall debate on thalidomide victims, 31 March 2009, Column 220WH, available at <http://yourdemocracy.newstatesman.com/parliament/thalidomide-victims/HAN100037294> [accessed 21 September 2012]. Examples of the contraptions made for thalidomide children in the 1960s may be viewed as part of an exhibition entitled *Superhuman* held at the Wellcome collection between July and October 2012, see <http://www.wellcomecollection.org/whats-on/exhibitions/superhuman/image-galleries/missing-parts.aspx?view=pair-of-artificial-legs> (accessed 24 June 2014).

[59] *Acta Sanctorum*, 6 July, pp. 63–64, cited in translation by Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 152.

Besides crutches and sticks, the other most frequently mentioned mobility aids, especially for those people with severe orthopaedic impairments, were the so-called hand-trestles, and occasionally wheeled platforms on which people pushed themselves about.[60] Images of hand-trestles show what resemble small stools, with four short legs, sometimes with a strap across the top to allow better grip for the hands.[61] A congenitally impaired man in the miracles of St Godric of Finchale, who had one foot twisted backwards, and whose shins were pliable like marrow without bones, crawled on two stools (*scamnis duobus*) and was thus 'manibus de loco ad locum ferebatur' ('carried by his hands from place to place').[62] The Latin *scamnum* came to form the Middle High German term *schemeler*, for the 'cripple' who crawls on all fours and has to use a small stool for the protection of his hands, a word which by the high Middle Ages found its way into surnames or cognomina.[63]

One of the most intriguing devices used for a mobility aid seems to have been utilized by St Godric himself, who in his old age — he died in 1170 allegedly one hundred years old — suffered from a condition that prevented him from moving about unaided. He was supported 'baculo tripes' ('by a triple stick'), which appears to be far more sophisticated than an ordinary set of crutches.[64] Depictions in illuminated manuscripts sometimes show a device that might fit the triple stick description, but in this case used by infants, as a baby walker. Such devices are three- or four-legged wooden frames on wheels, the idea being that the infant stands inside the frame and learns to walk while being supported.[65] The baby walker was known from the thirteenth century, but there are references to very similar contraptions even in antiquity, for exam-

[60] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 86.

[61] For example, the 1190s illumination in London, British Library, MS Royal 13.B.VIII, fol. 30^{v}, from Gerald of Wales' *Topographica Hibernica*, dist. III, cap. XXXV. An example of hand-trestles with additional strap can be found on a misericord of 1387–94 in the College Chapel, Winchester.

[62] *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, ed. by Stevenson, miracle no. 221.

[63] Metzler, 'What's in a Name?', pp. 30–31. Medieval *schemeler* is a term cognate with modern German *Schemel*, 'a (small) stool, bench'.

[64] *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, ed. by Stevenson, miracle no. lxxxv.

[65] The standard version, as found in a woodcut printed 1491 by Heinrich Laugfenberg at Augsburg, had three wheels, while the 'de-luxe model' with four wheels is often sported by the baby Jesus, for instance in a miniature of the Holy Family at work, in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, made at Utrecht *c.* 1440, now New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M.917, fol. 149^{r}.

ple during the first and second century CE in Soranus's text on gynaecology, where they are described as 'chairs fitted with wheels'.[66]

So how does visual evidence take us from infant not yet able to walk to adult no longer capable of doing so? A satirical image on a tapestry which originally hung in the town hall of Regensburg depicts a young man, struck down by lovesickness and thereby rendered helpless like an infant, using the three-wheeled version of the baby walker.[67] The wording surrounding the roundel, 'ich pin meines liep tierlein ich ge an dem radele(in)', translates roughly as 'I am my love's pet, I walk on the wheel'. Interestingly, one marginal illustration in a Book of Hours made about 1410 for François, Duke of Guise shows just such a type of baby walker, but adapted for height and width, being used by an old woman.[68] There is no apparent satirical connection here of image with text; it seems simply to represent the decreased mobility of old age. Viewed in conjunction with an elderly person employing it, the medieval baby walker looks startlingly similar to the modern tri-walker or rollator, some six hundred years before dedicated manufacturers of mobility aids commenced production. It is therefore plausible that St Godric's triple stick is a reference to some such adapted baby walker used by an elderly person, in the fashion a modern wheeled tri-walker would be.

Aid to mobility could also be provided in the form of being led by other people and supported directly by others. This was necessary for a woman with pains in her knees who was led to the shrine at Norwich:

> [s]icque factum est, ut que manibus alienis corpore inbecillis aduenerat, celesti operante medicina, nullius egens adminiculo incolumis rediret et sospes
>
> [t]hus it came to pass that she who came with her feeble body by the hands of others [...] went back safe and sound needing no man's support.[69]

Another woman cured at Norwich came 'sustentata brachiis' ('sustained by the arms'), that is, propped up under her arms by her two helpers, namely supported on one side by her husband and on the other by someone else.[70]

[66] See Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, p. 92. In Soranus the Greek expression is 'ὁ διφρος ὑποτροχος', see Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology*, p. 116, section 45 [114].

[67] Tapestry of *c*. 1390, Museum der Stadt Regensburg, Germany. See description in *Regensburg im Mittelalter*, ed. by Angerer, catalogue entry 20. 1 on p. 148, and plate 49 on p. 246.

[68] In the *Heures de François de Guise*, now Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 64, fol. 191^{r}.

[69] *The Life and Miracles of St William*, ed. by Jessop and James, miracle III.vii.

[70] *The Life and Miracles of St William*, ed. by Jessop and James, miracle IV.xi. A person

Sometimes the disabled had no mobility aid to rely on at all, instead having to move as best as their physical ability would allow them to do. In the miracles of St Elizabeth, a hunch-backed man had become mobility-impaired in such a fashion that he could not move, unless he pulled himself forwards on his hands, dragging his legs behind him which were bent backwards and totally lame; the miracle narrative simply states that he had himself taken to the tomb of St Elizabeth. After his cure, which the miracle account — in contrast to a modern medical analysis — terms a full healing, he still needed to lean on or prop himself up a little on a stick.[71]

And finally, since this survey has concentrated so far on what modern medical terminology would call orthopaedic impairments, a few words about visual impairments and mobility seem appropriate. In brief, to move about in public or in unfamiliar surroundings, blind or severely visually-impaired people required a guide.[72] Guides could be paid for, as in a number of begging guilds, where the blind beggars, receiving alms, in effect acted as employers for sighted guides. For example, the fourteenth-century confraternities of the blind at Barcelona and Valencia provided reciprocal loan of the guide (*lazarillo*) for their members, and the fifteenth-century guild at Zülpich (Eiffel) in the territory of the archbishopric of Cologne had a system of mutual aid for its members, which included financial support in times of sickness.[73] It is noteworthy that blindness on its own was not deemed an illness. Commonly, the guide was a young boy, as in the popular image of a blind old man with a stick led by a boy, or of a group of pilgrims with a blind man in front being led by a boy to a shrine.[74] More intriguing in a fifteenth-century Sienese painting is

supported in such a way can be seen among the supplicants approaching the shrine of St Nicholas at Bari in the detail of a *predella* made in 1425 by Gentile da Fabriano, formerly Florence, San Niccolò, now Washington, National Gallery of Art.

[71] *Medizinische Kasuistik*, ed. by Jansen, miracle MI 48; also *The Life and Afterlife*, ed. and trans. Wolf, p. 130.

[72] Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind*, presents an impressive study of the metaphorical, literary, and religious discourse pertaining to blindness, but has little to say concerning practical impacts on quotidian life, with the few examples cited of guides for the blind stemming purely from literary sources.

[73] Geremek, *Geschichte der Armut*, p. 66; also Mollat, *Die Armen im Mittelalter*, p. 163; Irsigler and Lassotta, *Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker*, pp. 60–62.

[74] For an example of a boy leading an old man see the image of Old Age in the 'Wheel of Life' in the De Lisle psalter, *c.* 1310, London, British Library, MS Arundel 83II, fol. 126^{v}. There is also a representation of a blind man with stick on the left, while other pilgrims are squeezing

the possible use of a guide dog by a blind old man, who also holds a stick; one may compare him with the other blind man on the left of the same painting who only has a stick.[75] Another possible guide dog, who sits next to his blind elderly master holding a begging bowl in his mouth, may be found in a detail from a 'Procession' by the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden.[76] Whether or not these were guide dogs in the modern sense, or simply companion animals that accompanied their visually impaired owners, such images provide some evidence for the mobility, and participation in daily public life, of blind people in the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

In summary, the requirements of daily personal mobility as well as of mobility for travel to shrines differed according to both the specific needs of an impaired person and their economic means. If someone was still capable of walking a little, they may have just needed one support, while others needed two crutches, or had to use hand-trestles. The severely impaired people who had to move around by crawling probably had to use this form of mobility not because of negative attitudes to them, or solely because of economic hardship, but also due to the technical limitations of the period. It seems that already existing and therefore familiar objects were modified to act as mobility aids. However, specially designed mobility aids will not have been available to all and sundry, and people made do with whatever objects could be used for the purpose: ordinary sticks instead of the Zimmer frame-like triple stick of St Godric, for example. To a large extent, therefore, personal mobility was a social issue, dependent on the aid provided by other people: family, friends, and neighbours, or even complete strangers. What motivation lay behind the help and support provided by other people to the disabled is rarely mentioned in the *miracula* sources. In the case of family members, it is perhaps assumed that parental (or filial) duty entailed caring for an impaired relative. However, often as not it is strangers or passers-by who intervene where a disabled person has been left in the lurch. Undoubtedly there is a didactic element to such narratives, in that tales

into apertures at the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey in a thirteenth-century manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee 3.59, fol. 30^{r}.

[75] Sienese school, Master of the Osservanza, second quarter of the fifteenth century, now Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.

[76] Dated to *c.* 1440, London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.

of strangers helping the needy where friends and family failed contribute to the idea of one all-encompassing, inclusive Christian community. A story in one of the miracles of St Martin told by Gregory of Tours illustrates this observation. When a young boy named Leodulf, lame in his left foot, who had been travelling with a group of people begging for alms, experienced pains in addition to his limp, he was abandoned by his companions, so that he was left clamouring for help from many passers-by on their way to the festival of St Martin, until eventually one man took him to the church in his wagon.[77] Leodulf's personal mobility was dependent on the good-will and altruism of others, aroused in part by his exhortations to these passers-by to help him for fear of God as good Christians should.[78] Yet in another case, a man who was paralysed without the power to move had been travelling around for ten years with a group of beggars who, it seems, never abandoned him, before being healed by St Martin.[79] In the words of Martha Edwards, 'the consequences of physical handicap varied according to the context and to the individual'.[80]

In the absence of either affordable mobility aids, like the hand-trestles which were quick, easy and cheap to produce, or of other people to help, the mobility of the impaired was severely hindered. In one of the early medieval stories narrated by Gregory of Tours a man is mentioned to whose poverty is ascribed the main reason for his mobility impairment, since he was so poor that he could not afford to pay for anyone to carry him, therefore he dragged himself along the ground.[81] In this respect the Middle Ages differed little from contemporary times, in that economics to a great extent dictated mobility, and consequently quality of life, of the disabled person. Then, as now, the latest technical developments and mobility devices are of little use if a person cannot access them, access being a matter of affordability as much as of the (built) environment. Social, economic, and moral-religious spaces as well as physical space, then, dictated the lived experience of mobility for impaired people in the western Middle Ages, enabling some — those who obtained various mobility aids or had helpers — whilst disabling those others who lacked resources. *Plus ça change*.

[77] Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, miracle 2. 46.

[78] Laes, 'Disabled Children in Gregory of Tours', p. 47, poses some interesting but ultimately unanswerable questions concerning why Leodulf's companions abandoned him: weak group solidarity, or their eagerness to get to the festival without being held up by the disabled Leodulf?

[79] Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, miracle 3. 58.

[80] Edwards, 'Constructions of Physical Disability in the Ancient Greek World', p. 43.

[81] Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of Bishop Martin*, miracle 2. 7.

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Part II

Nobility of the Road: Travel and Status

Why Didn't King Stephen Crusade?

John D. Hosler

Introduction

The Second Crusade was the first crusade led by western monarchs, but Stephen, king of the English from 1135 to 1154, did not go. Those that did lead forces east, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of the Empire, were heavily courted by the papacy: Pope Eugenius III personally urged Louis to lead the western armies, and Bernard of Clairvaux was sent to persuade Conrad on Eugenius's behalf.[1] Neither Bernard nor Eugenius similarly contacted Stephen. Stephen's absence on crusade was by no means remarkable. In the twelfth century, Richard I was the only English monarch to fight in the East; Henry II and King John both took the cross but never went, and neither did the Anglo-Norman kings preceding them. The reasons for the recalcitrance of William Rufus and Henry I were political and economic: Rufus gained politically by funding his brother Robert Curthose's expedition, and the small-scale crusades of his day did not entice Henry I to contribute anything more than financial

[1] For Eugenius's letter to Louis, see *Eugenius III, Pontifex Romanus: notitia historica*, ed. by Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXX, 1064–66: 'Ad Ludovicum regum Galliarum – De expeditione in Terram Sanctam suscipienda'; for analysis of the papacy's outreach efforts, see Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 275–88.

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support. Regarding Stephen, historians have decided that he was too occupied with 'the Anarchy' of his reign to even consider a crusade. He 'had a kingdom to try to salvage' and 'there was no way that Stephen could have gone'.[2] In other words, Stephen was simply too busy to travel east.

This explanation for Stephen's non-participation is too convenient by far and has yet to be explored in detail. With the purpose of beginning a conversation, this present study asks an obvious question: why didn't King Stephen go on crusade? It explores and challenges the customary explanations for his non-presence and offers three possible elements to the answer. First, it argues that Stephen had significant motive to go on crusade. He was well-informed about crusade preparations, politically intimate with people and institutions connected to the Holy Land, and surrounded by individuals who took the cross. Second, it argues that the standard explanation of his non-involvement must be augmented: his ability to journey east was hindered not principally by the Anarchy but rather by the deposition of William fitz Herbert, archbishop of York. Third, it will speculate that in early 1147 Stephen may have actually contemplated joining the Second Crusade after all.

Stephen's Crusader Connections

Only two documents referencing calls to crusade in England date to Stephen's reign. The first is a well-known letter from Bernard of Clairvaux exhorting the English people to war. It is addressed to the people generally and does not single out the king; moreover, it is generic in the sense that Bernard appears to have sent identical letters to eastern France and Bavaria. The second document is a crusading bull alluded to in a papal letter to Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury; the bull itself, unfortunately, is no longer extant.[3] The contrast of such scant documentation to the abundance of crusade preaching going on in France and the Empire in the 1140s is stark indeed. Moreover, there seems to have been little expectation that Stephen, as a powerful warrior king, should have done his duty and taken the cross in the first place: a vastly different attitude than

[2] Mason, *William II*, p. 21 and pp. 166–67. Henry I, 'obviously not an enthusiast himself', funded the military orders and notably Hugh de Payens, founder of the Knights Templar; see Tyerman, *England the Crusades*, pp. 30–31; and also Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 412. On Stephen, see Crouch, 'King Stephen and Northern France', p. 54; King, *King Stephen*, p. 231; and Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 98.

[3] *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by James, no. 391; Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', p. 261.

that facing his immediate successor Henry II, who was hounded on multiple occasions to either become *crucesignatus* or to contribute funds for crusading armies.[4] Such a paucity of evidence has led David Crouch to argue that the crusade had no 'significant effect on the course of his [Stephen's] reign and the nature of his government'.[5]

The disconnect between Stephen and the Second Crusade becomes almost bewildering when we consider the crusade's magnitude. The expedition was, quite simply, the largest-scale military event of his lifetime. Precise numbers for the main French and German armies escape us, but both certainly numbered in the tens of thousands. An army of crusaders also gathered and departed from England itself. Sailing from Dartmouth to Lisbon, this contingent numbered 150–200 ships, holding perhaps up to ten thousand men. By itself, the number of soldiers on the Lisbon expedition equalled or exceeded that found at Hastings in 1066.[6] Yet the principal sources for Stephen's reign make no explicit comment regarding his knowledge of or participation in such a grand event. Even so, by mining extant documents for references to events and people with whom Stephen had interests, one can establish a variety of indirect connections between king and crusade that help to explain why he never journeyed to the East.

King Stephen had extensive familial connections to crusaders and the Latin East. His infamous father Stephen, count of Blois, deserted the armies of the First Crusade at Antioch (1098), while his uncle Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, distinguished himself at Dorylaeum (1097) and Jerusalem (1099). It is not known whether or not the king felt obligated to redeem the failings of one or emulate the exploits of the other.[7] Through his marriage to Matilda

[4] Henry II's commitments to crusading activities are summarized in Hosler, *Henry II*, pp. 166–70.

[5] Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, p. 311. John France has argued that the Lisbon expedition was never sanctioned by Eugenius and not part of the Second Crusade proper; see 'Logistics and the Second Crusade', p. 91. The present study considers them linked by date, not origin.

[6] For the Dartmouth numbers see Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 308; for Hastings, see Gillmor, 'Naval Logistics of the Cross-Channel Operation, 1066', p. 116.

[7] The story of the elder Stephen's desertion appears in *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. by Hill, p. 63; and *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, VI, no. 15. The *Gesta* is excerpted in English in Davis, *King Stephen*, pp. 3–4. Tyerman sees the father's reputation as posthumously mended; see *England and the Crusades*, p. 24. Others assert that the family legacy drove the son towards bravery; see Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England*, p. 167; and Green, 'Henry I and the Origins of the Civil War', p. 13.

of Boulogne, Stephen also shared lineage with the kings of Jerusalem. Matilda was the daughter of Eustace III, count of Boulogne, who was possibly offered the Jerusalem throne after the First Crusade. Eustace's older brother Godfrey de Bouillon, who, through acclamation of his peers was named Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre on 22 July 1099, was Matilda's uncle.[8] In 1100 Godfrey was succeeded by Baldwin I, his younger brother and Matilda's other uncle.[9] In addition, Stephen and Matilda's own son Eustace became count of Boulogne in 1146, himself in line for Jerusalem's crown. In 1140, Eustace married Constance, the sister of Louis VII.[10] To ensure that match, Stephen sent the French king a large treasure, which he had seized from bishop Roger of Salisbury. The historian William of Newburgh, the source of this story, claims that the kings were widely believed to have been in league together.[11] As it was, however, neither Stephen nor his son had an opportunity to gain the throne of Jerusalem. Fulk V, count of Anjou, reigned until 1143, after which the pre-arranged succession of his son Baldwin took place. This arrangement broke the link between the house of Blois and Jerusalem. Had Fulk and his new wife Melisende not procreated, Stephen's claim might have been restored, but as it was Baldwin III ruled until 1162, long after the deaths of both Stephen and Eustace.[12] This set of familial connections was completed by Arnold III, count of Aerschot, who led a contingent from Cologne to Dartmouth for the naval expedition to Portugal in 1147. Arnold was Godfrey de Bouillon's nephew and therefore Queen Matilda's cousin.[13] This seaborne contingent was the most successful of the armies on the Second Crusade, besieging the city of Lisbon and ultimately taking it on 24 October 1147.

In addition, King Stephen was politically aligned with several participants on the Second Crusade. At least eight of Stephen's close magnates joined or attempted to join the armies of Louis VII in 1147. Roger de Mowbray, who had fought beside Stephen at both the Standard (1138) and Lincoln (1141), distinguished himself in the east and was a patron of the Knights Templar.[14]

[8] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 30.

[9] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, pp. 41–43. On Stephen's claim to Jerusalem, see Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 112.

[10] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, E, no. 1140.

[11] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. by Howlett, I, 1. 11 and 1. 7.

[12] On Fulk's marriage to Melisende, see Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 56.

[13] Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 308; France, 'Logistics and the Second Crusade', p. 87.

[14] Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 296. For Mowbray's exploits see the chronicler John of Hexham's account in *Historia Regum*, ed. by Arnold, II, no. 20.

William le Gros, count of Aumale and earl of York, attempted to join the French crusading army but died before doing so.[15] William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, was captured at the battle at Mount Cadmus (1148) and died in the East. Interestingly, his daughter Isabella married Stephen and Matilda's second son, William.[16] William de Warenne's half-brother Waleran de Beaumont, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester, was betrothed to Stephen's daughter Matilda and supported the king before shifting his allegiance to the Angevins in 1141. He led the Anglo-Norman contingent that accompanied Louis VII east.[17] Joining him in that group at Worms was Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, and Roger Clinton, bishop of Chester, both of whom had extensive dealings with Stephen. At this point record evidence becomes useful, particularly Stephen's royal charters. Although charters cannot independently prove collegiality between king and subject, they do demonstrate professional familiarity, and the presence of several crusaders in witness lists indicates their physical presence at court. Roger Clinton appears in four of Stephen's charters.[18] According to the satirist Walter Map, joining Louis VII in Jerusalem was William, count of Aubigny, who witnessed at least thirteen of Stephen's charters.[19] Another crusader, Walter fitz Gilbert of Clare, appears in several of Stephen's charters, two of which explicitly refer to Walter traveling to Jerusalem.[20]

The names of four English constables who led the expedition from Dartmouth to Lisbon are known, but of them Stephen can only be connected

[15] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Greenway, IV, nos 9 and 18; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 32.

[16] On William's death see John of Hexham, *Historia Regum*, ed. by Arnold, II, 20. On Isabella, see Tanner, 'Queenship: Office, Custom, or Ad Hoc?', p. 138.

[17] Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, p. 67. Waleran received criticism for his role at Damascus in 1148; see Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation', p. 133.

[18] On Arnulf, see Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII*, ed. and trans. by Berry, II, no. 22; France, 'Logistics and the Second Crusade', p. 83; and Poling Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux*, p. 21. On Roger Clinton, see Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 89. The bishop appears in four of Stephen's charters; see *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 451–53 and 969.

[19] Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 139; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. by James and others, V, no. 6. At various moments William also held the earldoms of Arundel, Chichester, Lincoln, and Sussex.

[20] See *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 546 and 547, respectively. For the others, see *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 102 and 536, and also no. 548 for a charter of Queen Matilda.

to Hervey de Glanville, who appears in two charters.[21] Hervey's son was Ranulf de Glanville, earl of Chester, a man whose story is inextricable from that of Stephen and to which we shall return.[22] Interestingly, the author of *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, the English letter describing the Lisbon expedition, was one Raol, an Anglo-French priest and close associate of Hervey de Glanville's family.[23] This is a tempting, but ultimately tenuous, link between Stephen and the Lisbon expedition.

So too did Stephen's erstwhile opponents depart for the Holy Land. Two of Empress Maud's military commanders abandoned her in 1145 in order to crusade: William Peverel and Philip, son of Robert, earl of Gloucester. Philip went over to Stephen's side in 1145 and fought earnestly for the king before falling seriously ill.[24] In 1146, he left for Jerusalem on a pilgrimage intended to serve as penance for his awful deeds; for these the author of the *Gesta Stephani* dubbed him 'in omni denique malitia omnino consummatum' ('a perfect master of every kind of wickedness').[25] Two other men, Arnulf and Stephen de Mandeville, accompanied Philip on his journey east.[26] Arnulf, the son of Geoffrey II de Mandeville, earl of Essex, was known to Stephen and appears twice in his 1141 Christmas charter.[27] The Veil brothers of Southampton, William and Ralph, were major transport contractors on the Channel; they appear in the English account of the Lisbon expedition and were well-known partisans of Robert of

[21] *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 288 and 110. The other constables were Saher of Archel, Simon of Dover, and Andrew of London. Hervey was asserted as a chamberlain to Stephen in Glanville-Richards, *Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville*, p. xvii; this is contested in *The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. by David, p. 55, n. 2; and he is not included in the list of chamberlains in *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, xviii–xix. Hervey's brother William de Glanville also appears in a charter of Stephen to Bromholm Priory, which was issued prior to Stephen's coronation; see *Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville*, p. 7.

[22] Hudson, 'Glanville, Ranulf de (1120s?–1190)'.

[23] Raol lodged with Hervey during the Lisbon expedition; see *The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. by David, pp. xxi and p. 42, n. 4. On his identity see Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author'. The other or 'German' letter concerning the Lisbon expedition is by the priest Winand; for its translation, see Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade'.

[24] Davis, *King Stephen*, pp. 91–92.

[25] *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by Potter, II, nos 98 and 93.

[26] Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, p. 219.

[27] *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, no. 276.

Gloucester.[28] In all, a goodly number of Stephen's friends, magnates, and adversaries took the cross and/or departed for Jerusalem in the period of the Second Crusade.

There is, moreover, a further link between Stephen and the Eastern Mediterranean. Some sixty charters attest to his family's patronage of the order of the Knights Templar.[29] Several of these were land-grants that coincided with the Second Crusade. Four of Queen Matilda's grants to the Templars in Essex (Cressing, Uphall, Witham, Cowley) have been dated to before 1147, and her grant to Witham was confirmed by her son Eustace around the same time.[30] Stephen confirmed Matilda's grants to Witham and Cowley as well as others in Oxfordshire (Shotover, Hensington); Bedfordshire (Sharnbrook, Langford); and Hertfordshire (Dinsley).[31] Eight other such land-grants to Knights Templar appear in Stephen's charters but cannot be dated with certainty to this specific period. In their entirety, these grants suggest an active interest in the financial health of crusading institutions and, perhaps what Crouch has called 'a dim echo' of the king's familial activities in the East.[32]

Crusading Ideology and the Court

Our knowledge of Stephen's acquaintance with crusading literature and ideas is more speculative. Two letters from his father Stephen to his mother Adela survive. The first was sent by Stephen to his wife following the departure of the army of the First Crusade from Constantinople in 1097. A second letter was sent by Stephen during the nightmarish siege of Antioch in the winter of 1098, during which Stephen ultimately deserted the army and returned home

[28] Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 309–10; on the Veils, see *The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. by David, pp. 100–05 and n. 1, respectively; and William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. by King, trans. by Potter, III, no. 77.

[29] *The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. by David, p. 10; Matthew, *Britain and the Continent*, p. 57; Matthew, *King Stephen*, p. 137.

[30] *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 843, 844, 845, and 850; for Eustace's confirmation, see no. 847.

[31] *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 846, 851, 853, 855, 861, 862, 858. Stephen's grant to Cowley was later augmented by a grant from Maud; see Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 132.

[32] Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, p. 318. For the undated grants, see *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 848–49, 852, 856–57, 859–60, and 863.

to Blois. While it is not possible to ascertain whether the young Stephen was aware of the contents of these letters, knowledge of his father's expedition surely circulated freely in the household.[33] Stephen's desertion at Antioch was also documented in crusading histories, including the *Gesta Francorum* and the account of Robert the Monk. Yet it is difficult to know which, if any, of these narratives would have been known to Stephen or members of his court. His father's tale was infamous, but one cannot know if Stephen actually read about it or simply heard it from his relatives. In general, information on reading, literature, and patronage at Stephen's court is far less satisfactory than for his predecessor and successor. It is well-known that Henry I and Henry II were well-schooled and interested in literary works, but while one may suppose that Stephen, as the son of an elite noble, had a comparable education it cannot be demonstrated that he shared their reading tastes.[34]

One context in which Stephen may have encountered the deeds of his crusading relatives, however, is *L'estoire des Engleis* of Geoffrey Gaimar, a poem of 6526 verses in Old French. Gaimar thrice references the First Crusade, describing the valorous pursuits of Stephen's uncle, Robert Curthose, twice and also Matilda's uncle Godfrey de Bouillon's reception of the kingdom of Jerusalem:

Ierusalem sur paens prist,	Jerusalem he [Robert] took from the heathen.
Il conquist la bone cite,	He conquered the good city.
Des crestiens fust alose.	By Christians he was praised.
Pur Curbarant kil out oscis	For Curbarant, whom he slew,
Entrat li duc en si halt pris,	The duke came into such high worth,
Ka rei le voleient eslire;	That they wished to choose him king.
Esguarde ont kil seit lur sire	They counseled that he should their
A Antioche la cite,	At the city of Antioch.
La fust tenu put avoue.	There he held as protector.
Il la conquist com ber vaillant;	He conquered it like a valiant lord;
Puis la donat a Normant;	Then he gave it to the Normans;
E les altres bones citez,	And the other good cities,
Si com li ducs ad diuisez,	As the duke devised,
Furent parties e donees,	Were divided and given,

[33] King, *King Stephen*, pp. 6–7.

[34] Richardson and Sayles, *The Governance of Medieval England*, pp. 271–72; Short, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Henry II'. Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated one manuscript of his popular *Historia Regum Brittanniae* to Stephen, but this may demonstrate only his desire to appeal to the English elite; see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 204. On Henry II in general, see *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. by Kennedy and Meecham-Jones.

E les pais e les contrees.	The lands and the countries.
Duc Godefrai, par son otrei,	Duke Godfrey by his award,
Fust feit en Ierusalem rei;	Was made king in Jerusalem.
Pur co kil ni volt remaneir,	Because he [Robert] did not wish to tarry there,
Lui lessat; [...]	He left it to him. [...]
Pur co ert ducs de Normendie,	Also he [William Rufus] was duke of Normandy,
Del quens Robert ni aueit mie;	Of which earl Robert had none.
En Ierusalem en ert ale,	He had gone to Jerusalem.
Li reis auer len out done.[35]	He had given it to the king to hold.[36]

36

Gaimar composed *L'estoire* in England sometime between 1141 and 1150 at the request of Constance, wife of Ralph fitz Gilbert, a Lincolnshire nobleman.[37] The Gilberts were well-connected to the elite class of England and knew both Robert of Gloucester and Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx Abbey. That Gaimar was ever in contact with the court of Henry II is now considered unlikely, but a connection with Stephen's court remains a possibility.[38] John Gillingham has argued that by naming other notable figures in his dedication (including Henry I and his widow Adeliza) Gaimar, at minimum, 'appealed to a cross-section of landowning society, both lay and clerical'.[39] Elsewhere, he argues that the named individuals constituted a 'powerful, cultivated and courtly milieu'.[40] Paul Dalton has taken these points further, arguing that Gaimar, in fact, wrote with the explicit intention of promoting peace during the Anarchy by 'teaching Anglo-Norman aristocrats about the virtues of peace and stability'.[41] If Dalton is correct that 'Gaimar wrote [...] with Ranulf [of Chester] and Stephen in mind', then it is plausible that the king himself had heard his work and the crusading references therein.[42]

[35] *Lestoire des Engles solum la Tranślacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. and trans. by Hardy and Martin, I, 5751–70 and 6205–09.

[36] *Lestoire des Engles*, II, 5751–70 and 6205–09.

[37] For its dating, see Dalton, 'The Date of Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', pp. 38–39. Ralph fitz Gilbert also appears in one of Stephen's charters, a grant to Peterborough Abbey in 1136–1141; see *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, no. 655.

[38] Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, p. 50.

[39] Gillingham, 'Gaimar, the Prose *Brut*, and the Making of English History', pp. 120–21.

[40] Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love', p. 234.

[41] Dalton, 'Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', pp. 431 and 435.

[42] Dalton, 'Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', p. 448. *L'estoire* was probably meant to be read aloud; see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, p. 209.

Finally, it is unlikely that crusade preparations in England escaped attention at court. In early 1146, Bernard of Clairvaux addressed his exhortation to take up the cross to the English people and seems to have convinced many to do so. The *Gesta Stephani* claims England was 'uacuam et exhaustam' ('empty and drained of men'); Christopher Tyerman has argued that the rush of men was not random and 'planning, not chance, lay behind the musters'.[43] The arrival in England of Thierry, count of Alsace, and Christian, castellan of Gistel, two commanders of the contingents from Flanders and Boulogne that departed from Dartmouth, would not have gone unnoticed by the king; neither would have the arrival of German forces under his wife's cousin Arnold of Aerschot.[44] News of Louis VII's expedition was heard throughout England and reached as far north as Scotland.[45] Odo of Deuil, the most important source for the Second Crusade, was in France when he likewise heard of the expedition to Lisbon that departed from England's south shore.[46] Affairs concerning English estates also drew the presence of men involved with crusade preparations. In Paris in 1147, Bernard, Eugenius III, and a group of 130 Templars met in regards to a granting of estates in Hertfordshire. In addition, William de Warenne's dedication ceremony for Lewes Priory, which Edmund King argues was part of that man's elaborate crusade arrangements, was attended by Stephen's brother Henry, bishop of Winchester.[47] Henry himself was in personal communication with Eugenius, the promulgator of the Second Crusade itself, in 1147.[48] Given the depth and diversity of his relations with individuals and groups involved in crusade preparations and operations, it is inconceivable that the king could have remained in ignorance of these.

[43] Bernard's appeal 'fell on willing ears'; see Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 89; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by Potter, II, no. 99; Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 298. Disagreement over the *Gesta Stephani*'s reliability here does not diminish the newsworthiness of the magnates' departure; see Holdsworth, 'St. Bernard and England', p. 148 n. 54.

[44] Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 299.

[45] MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 19; for the charter, see *The Charters of King David I*, ed. by Barrow, no. 163.

[46] *De Profectione Ludovici VII*, ed. and trans. by Berry, pp. 12–13.

[47] King, *King Stephen*, p. 232.

[48] *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester, 1070–1204*, ed. by Franklin, no. 31.

Domestic Difficulties and a Missed Opportunity: A Hypothesis

The question is therefore not whether King Stephen was aware of the preparations for the Second Crusade but rather why he took no part in it himself. The typical answer — that the violence and disruption of the Anarchy kept him too busy to even consider marching east — is insufficient. More specifically, this answer cannot be sustained within the time frame of the Second Crusade. The Anarchy did not feature consistently destructive violence each and every year. By 1146, Stephen's foes in England had largely been rendered impotent. His implacable opponent Geoffrey de Mandeville had been defeated; already excommunicated for attacks on the Ramsey monks, he was wounded while attacking Burwell Castle and died in September 1144.[49] Empress Maud had her own problems. She was under threat of excommunication as a result of her illegal possession of Devizes, and in 1145 her chief military supporter Robert of Gloucester was deserted by his son Philip; the earl thereafter faded into the background as a lesser player in the Anarchy.[50] The principal military threat confronting Stephen in the period was the landing of Maud's son, the young Henry Plantagenet, and his small band of soldiers on English shores early in 1147. This was a minor and disastrous attempt at invasion. Henry quickly expended all his funds and was deserted by his men; taking pity on the boy, Stephen himself paid for his passage back to Anjou in June. The event was a distraction certainly, but hardly a major problem requiring extensive military preparations.[51]

A more plausible cause of King Stephen's absence on crusade was his embroilment in the deposition of William fitz Herbert, Archbishop of York. The controversy over William had been simmering for six years, beginning with his disputed election to York in 1141. The legitimacy of the vote was challenged amidst charges of fornication, simony, and intrusion on the part of both Stephen and the future crusader William de Aumale, who was a chief supporter of William. Essentially, the charge was that Stephen had ordered William de Aumale to inform the dean at York that William fitz Herbert was to be elected.[52] The controversy escalated when Bernard of Clairvaux became involved,

[49] Davis, *King Stephen*, pp. 84–86.

[50] On 26 November 1146, Eugenius authored a bull giving Bishop Jocelyn of Salisbury license to demand the restoration of properties seized from him, including Devizes Castle; see Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 148.

[51] Poole, 'Henry Plantagenet's Early Visits to England'.

[52] Norton, *St William of York*, pp. 83–84, 99–100, and 112.

persuading three successive popes (Celestine II, Lucius II, and Eugenius III) to depose the new archbishop.[53] William pled his case before Eugenius to no avail: he was suspended on 21 February 1146, deposed in early 1147, and the pope called for a new election on 11 May. The latter order coincided almost perfectly with the departure of the Lisbon expedition: the German forces under Count Arnold III arrived on 19 May and the collective fleet set sail from Dartmouth four days later.[54] Afterward, matters deteriorated when William's supporters took their vengeance against the Cistercian abbey of Fountains, burning down most of the monastery. There, they had searched in vain for Henry Murdac, whom Bernard had transferred to Fountains from Vauclair in a move designed to promote a Cistercian candidacy for William's old archiepiscopal seat.[55] Given the timeframe of the dispute — nearly simultaneous with the preaching, mustering, and commencement of the Second Crusade — the York dispute seems more likely than the sporadic violence to have kept Stephen in England in 1147.

One could simply end the matter here. In 1146–47, the period in which the Second Crusade was planned and prepared, Stephen was busied by internal affairs, chiefly those concerning York. However, one might push the query further. Given the context, Stephen either *would not* or *could not* go on crusade. While the latter statement presumes that he wished to go in the first place, the former assumes that he had no interest at all. There is no evidence to suggest that Stephen would have refused to go: no statement on his part about the crusade has survived, and no contemporary record states or even implies that he was a disinterested party. As to the 'could not', evidence is similarly lacking. Despite Stephen's multiple connections to individual crusaders and crusading institutions, no historical record states or implies his desire to fight for God. Nonetheless, a circumstantial case can be made that, irrespective of the fact that he did not take the cross formally, Stephen did have intentions to join the Second Crusade.

As the crusade preparations advanced Stephen maintained close connections with the papal court; functionally, these served as a direct means of communication between himself and Pope Eugenius. The most notable link was in

[53] Norton, *St William of York*, p. 116; *Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by James, nos 206–07.

[54] *The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. by David, p. 58. The fleet departed on the Friday before Ascension, which was on Thursday 29 May in 1147.

[55] Norton, *St William of York*, pp. 118–21. Bernard expressed outrage over the attack in a letter to Eugenius III; see Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, trans. by James, no. 208.

the person of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln.[56] Alexander had first travelled to Rome in 1125. Journeying alongside the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the trip signalled the prominence of his office.[57] In 1139, Alexander sent the archdeacon of Lincoln, Henry of Huntingdon, to visit Rome in his stead, where he secured a privilege for the cathedral from Innocent II.[58] Alexander next visited Rome in early 1145, a continuation of this relationship between Lincoln and the papacy. The bishop was received by Eugenius III personally and honourably; Henry of Huntingdon even claims the papal curia dubbed him 'the magnificent'.[59] The visit came at a critical point in time, for in the preceding December Edessa had fallen to the armies of Imad al-Din Zengi.[60] The papal bull spurring the new crusade, *Quantum Praedecessores*, was then promulgated on 1 December 1145 after nine months of reports from the East.[61] Alexander was in a prime position to gauge the papacy's initial responses to the disaster.

Alexander's political relationship with Eugenius continued thereafter. During the week of 3–9 February 1146, Eugenius addressed two confirmations to Lincoln while at Trastevere, one to the canons at Lincoln Cathedral and the second to Alexander himself.[62] In March, Eugenius then promulgated *Quantum Praedecessores II*, around the same time that Bernard of Clairvaux addressed

[56] Citing John of Worcester, Crouch suggests that in 1141 Queen Matilda offered Maud a compromise: Stephen, captured at Lincoln, would be freed and she and he would 'both be exiled to Jerusalem, which indicates [...] that they both cherished the ideal of crusade'; see 'King Stephen and Northern France', p. 54. The evidence seems to be overstated, however, for the salient passage never mentions the East: 'Se enim ei suasuros spoponderunt, quantinus regno dimisso, Deo soli, siue monachus siue peregrinus, exinde deseruiret' ('They promised to persuade him to give up the crown, and thereafter live devoted to God alone as a monk or pilgrim'). See The Chronicle of John of Worcester, ed. and trans. by McGurk, III, 296–97.

[57] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, III, no. 36.

[58] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, III, xv–xvi; for the privileges, see *Registrum Antiquissimum*, I, ed. by Foster, no. 249.

[59] Henry, *Historia Anglorum*, IV, no. 26. For the story of his visit, see *Eugenius III, Pontifex Romanus: notitia historica*, ed. by Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXX, 1005–06.

[60] The meeting must have taken place after Eugenius's election in February; see *Historia Anglorum*, IV, no. 23. The relationship between Stephen and Alexander had improved since the latter's controversial arrest and imprisonment in 1139; see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, E, no. 1137; William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, II, nos 22–30; *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. by McGurk, III, 247–49; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by Potter, II, nos 78–79.

[61] Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 273–74.

[62] *Registrum Antiquissimum*, I, ed. by Foster, nos 251 and 252.

his letter to the English people. Alexander, therefore, was in Rome and in personal contact with the pope within the precise timeframe of the formulation of the Second Crusade.[63] The great crusading assemblies at Bourges, Vézelay, and Etampes amassed during Lent 1147 and were followed by the departures of the Lisbon expedition in May and the land-based armies in June. In August Alexander undertook a second journey to see Eugenius, who was in Auxerre at the time.[64] During the same period, Alexander also found himself in the presence of King Stephen, appearing in multiple royal charters between 1145 and 1148.[65] It is difficult to believe that Alexander never spoke to his king about his communications with Eugenius III. Although no records of their conversations are extant it is highly probable that crusading preparations, which were already well-known around England, were discussed. With a personal and elite messenger like Alexander at his disposal, Eugenius could have foregone a formal crusading plea to Stephen by relying upon the bishop to recruit the king personally.

Along with Alexander of Lincoln, Stephen had other means of communication with the papacy during the 1140s. His brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, had been made papal legate by Innocent II in 1139. Despite their often rough relationship, this connection kept the throne close to Rome.[66] However, Henry's legatine office was not renewed in 1143, and despite continued communications with Rome he (a Cluniac) was eclipsed in England by the growing influence of the Cistercian order and also Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. A new legate, Cardinal Imar of Tusculum, came to England in 1145 and appears in one of Stephen's charters, but he did not stay long.[67] Alexander of Lincoln therefore filled a diplomatic lacuna between Stephen and the papacy in the period 1146–50.[68] Another person who might have served a similar role was Hilary, bishop of Chichester. Hilary was not consecrated bishop until 3 August 1147. Beforehand, he had been dean of Twynham and in this capacity appeared,

[63] George Ferzoco argues its exact origin is between December 1145 and March 1146; see Ferzoco, 'The Origins of the Second Crusade'.

[64] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, IV, no. 25.

[65] *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 471 and 482 are dated with certainty; III, no. 680 seems almost certain to have dated to soon before Alexander's death; III, nos 769 and 873 are less certain.

[66] Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198*, pp. 183–84.

[67] Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, p. 308; *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, no. 460.

[68] Warren, *Henry II*, p. 41. Theobald became papal legate in 1150; see Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198*, p. 173.

albeit unnamed, in several of Stephen's charters. After his consecration he witnessed several more, and there is also an extant letter in which he issued a judgment alongside Henry of Blois.[69] In 1146 Hilary served in the papal chancery and therefore was another link between Stephen and Eugenius.[70] A final, but unlikely, possibility was Robert Pullen, archdeacon of Rochester, cardinal priest of Sts Martino and Silvestro, and papal chancellor.[71] Robert was the very first English cardinal and fits within the context of the Second Crusade — he corresponded with Bernard of Clairvaux (although not about crusading) and died in either 1146 or 1147 — but the major source for his death, the chronicle of John of Hexham, fails to directly link him with Stephen, despite mentioning them in the same passage.[72] King Stephen, therefore, not only knew about the crusade but had access to individuals with information about developments and preparations on the Continent for the expedition.

This sort of specific information would undoubtedly be useful to a potential crusader, but did Stephen ever attempt to utilize it? His 1146–47 itineraries reveal a tantalizing possibility. It can be argued that Stephen made special effort in this period to finally end the Anarchy and thereby clear his itinerary of pressing domestic concerns. Although the king was clearly preoccupied with military conflict for most of his reign (losing Normandy in the process in April 1144), he appears to have made an all-out effort to quell the fighting in 1146. In December of that year, Stephen ordered the arrest of the persistent and troublesome rebel Ranulf de Glanville and stripped him and his fellows of Lincoln and several other castles.[73] Stephen then marched to Lincoln and, in a firm demonstration of authority, wore his crown in a very public showing over Christmas. The event was notable enough to be highlighted by chroniclers in both England and Normandy.[74] Alongside Stephen at Lincoln was the

[69] As dean, see *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis*, ed. by Cronne and Davis, III, nos 152–56, 181, 388, and 470; as bishop, nos 169–71, 183–84, 221–22, 272, 402, 511–13, 633, 760, 796, 867, 958. For the judgment, see *English Episcopal Acta VIII*, no. 61.

[70] Duggan, 'From the Conquest to the Death of John', p. 87.

[71] John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon*, trans. by McGarry, I, no. 5. See also Duggan, 'From the Conquest to the Death of John', p. 87; and Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198*, p. 219.

[72] *Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by James, no. 316; John of Hexham, *Historia Regum*, ed. by Arnold, II, no. 20.

[73] *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by Potter, II, nos 102–04. Ranulf's shifting allegiances are still being sorted out; see Dalton, '*In Neutro Latere*', pp. 39–59.

[74] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, IV, no. 25; *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. by Howlett, p. 153.

aforementioned William of Aubigny, who would later depart on crusade.[75] Afterward, Ranulf secured his freedom by swearing detailed oaths of allegiance to the king. Because Ranulf was the last clear and present threat to Stephen's authority, it appeared that the king had finally triumphed.

In early 1147, however, Ranulf broke his oaths and, joining forces with Gilbert fitz Richard, earl of Hertford, renewed his rebellion and any hopes of domestic tranquillity were dashed. This was a major setback for Stephen. It was following this betrayal that the *Gesta Stephani* records a speech, purportedly the words of Stephen himself, in which the king seemed bewildered that Ranulf had broken his word. He wondered aloud:

> Vbi fides, ubi pudor, ubi ille, qui et fidem mihi inconcussam seruare, et dedecoris notam reputare deberet ab amore meo quouis deflectere? qui nec fidem erga me singularem sibi et solum dominum seruat, nec infamiae publicae ruborem, haec agendo, aliquatenus deuitat.
>
> Where is his faith, his honour, where is the man who should have kept his faith to me unshaken and reckoned any swerving from his devotion to me a brand of infamy? He neither keeps faith to me, his one and only lord, nor, while doing this, does he in any wise avoid the shame of public disgrace.[76]

This was the only occasion on which the *Gesta Stephani* author felt it necessary to provide the king's actual words. The placement of the speech is significant and seems a deliberate rhetorical device: it followed a direct and concerted effort by Stephen at Lincoln to end the Anarchy, demonstrate his full authority, and set England at peace.

The chronology of events in England preceding the departure of the Second Crusade is highly suggestive. Considered together, King Stephen's dealings with both Ranulf de Glanville and Alexander of Lincoln support a reasonable circumstantial case for the king's interest in the East. From 1145 to 1146, Stephen had contact with the papal court via Bishop Alexander and most likely heard about various crusade preparations. In late 1146, he moved to establish peace through the arrest of Ranulf de Glanville and his binding with oaths; his crown-wearing was an imposing gesture of his royal authority. Stephen's arrest of the earl neatly coincides with the build-up to the Second Crusade — perhaps a deliberate attempt on his part to settle affairs before traveling east? Of course, these circumstances, no matter how enticing, are bedevilled by the lack of a

[75] King, *King Stephen*, p. 229.

[76] *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by Potter, II, no. 105.

crusader vow: at no point is Stephen ever said to have taken the cross. Adopting the mantle of the *crucesignatus* would have lent tremendous force to the king's peacemaking efforts by drafting even greater support from the English church in his favour. A vow may also have forced his enemies into temporary acquiescence with his rule. However, unless one posits that he intended to take his vow immediately before departure, it is here that the historian's attempt to know his intentions vis-à-vis the Second Crusade ultimately falters.

In any case, by the time domestic matters were resolved the Second Crusade was underway and Stephen's chance to join it had passed. In early 1147 stability ended with Ranulf's renewed rebellion. This was followed by Henry Plantagenet's invasion and also the deposition of William fitz Herbert. The ensuing political disputes did not end until after the departure of both the Dartmouth fleet and Louis VII's army. Lisbon fell to the crusaders in October, and three months later Henry Murdac was consecrated archbishop of York (7 December). Stephen refused to recognize Murdac's election and the matter dragged on from there. In March 1148 Stephen prevented English bishops from attending Eugenius's council at Rheims. This action incurred fresh wrath from the pope and nearly resulted in the king's excommunication.[77] Thereafter, Stephen was embroiled in other church disputes including the exile of Archbishop Theobald, the disputed consecration of Gilbert as bishop of Hereford, and Geoffrey Plantagenet's twin complaints that Stephen had illegally invaded Normandy and usurped the English throne.[78] On Whit Sunday (22 May) 1149, Henry Plantagenet returned to the Isles; his knighting in Carlisle began the so-called 'Henrician Phase' of the Anarchy. Therefore, apart from the short period of late 1146 to early 1147, at no point did Stephen have enough security to leave England's shores for an expedition to the East. So, 'Why didn't Stephen crusade'? My answer is that his window of opportunity opened and closed too quickly for it to be practicable.

Conclusion

Whether or not King Stephen ever intended to embark upon a crusade is impossible to know with certainty, but it should now be evident that he was closer to crusading movements than previously thought. During the 1140s

[77] *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, p. 5.

[78] All of these disputes are recorded in John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, pp. 7–8, 41–42, 44, and 47–49.

crusade preparations were underway and many of his subjects and lands were involved in the process. He knew most of the principal English leaders on the Second Crusade, and through his magnates he was advised on the various and ongoing efforts to preach the event and gather soldiers for the expedition. He was generous to the Knights Templar and tied, through his marriage, to the throne of Jerusalem. He thus had motive and opportunity to become involved in the crusades but was restricted by affairs of state and also intense ecclesiastical disputes. Stephen neither took the cross nor journeyed east, but the argument that he was a disinterested party can no longer be sustained.

The consideration of Stephen's non-participation raises a more general question regarding the crusading ideal. Much scholarship has focused on the personal motivations of *crucesignati*, but the question of why a warrior chose to forego crusading is interesting in and of itself. Certainly historians have studied leaders who became *crucesignati* yet never journeyed east — in an English context, Henry II and John spring immediately to mind — but historians ought to ask similar questions of powerful men who never elected to even take the cross in the first place.[79] Some very famous names fall into this category. For example, Geoffrey Plantagenet was also a non-participant on the Second Crusade. Preoccupied with the conquest and consolidation of Normandy, he was alternatively in and out of the good graces of the papacy, but at no point did he deign to go on crusade.[80] It is worthwhile to investigate such a leader and attempt to ascertain his level of interest in the crusades and to ask if/how it may have been diminished by other military, political, and/or religious concerns. In the absence of crusading oaths or chronicle descriptions, this study has shown that a rigorous examination of extant documents can reveal traces and indications that help explain such noncommittal attitudes. Ultimately, the persuasive power of crusading ideology cannot be properly measured without a consideration of those instances in which military men forewent opportunities to travel to the East.

[79] For example, Mayer 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land'; and Harper-Bill, 'John and the Church of Rome', pp. 310–12.

[80] In 1147 Geoffrey made a public reconciliation with Eugenius in Paris, but he nevertheless forbade Eugenius or any of his prelates entry to his dominions; see Chibnall, 'Normandy', in *Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, p. 109; and Haskins, 'Normandy under Geoffrey Plantagenet', p. 443.

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The Travels of Ivan Babonić: The Mobility of Slavonian Noblemen in the Fourteenth Century

Hrvoje Kekez

Introduction

In the early autumn of 1308 Lord Ivan Babonić received an invitation to hasten to meet the pope's legate, cardinal Gentiles, who was on his way to Buda (present day Budapest) for the coronation of the new Hungarian king, Charles Robert of Anjou. Ivan had to meet the pope's legate at the port on the river Sava near the city of Zagreb (Map 6.1, no. 4). He was invited to be a witness in a dispute on a matter of property between his brother, Lord Stjepan V of Stjeničnjak, and Augustin Kažotić, the bishop of Zagreb. Ivan received the invitation while staying in his family castle Stjeničnjak (now in Croatia) only several weeks after he had returned from a military campaign in the lands on the eastern slopes of the Alps. Ivan had been waging war on behalf of Lord Frederick of Habsburg, Duke of Austria. The war had been cruel and exhausting, and, although there is no written evidence, it was very likely that Lord Ivan Babonić was rather unwilling to go on another journey as he was tired and the winter was approaching.

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This short episode from the life of Lord Ivan Babonić, a nobleman from medieval Slavonia — now part of Croatia — vividly depicts how one member of an aristocratic family was obliged to undertake two journeys within a rather short period of time. This immediately raises certain questions; was it common among the Slavonian aristocracy to travel so often? The main goal of this article is to discuss the influence of travel on the lives and careers of members of the higher nobility in the medieval Kingdom of Slavonia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In order to do this, this article will discuss several issues connected with the mobility of this group. It will first consider the motivations for travel and its frequency. How often did a nobleman travel in a given year? Can his journeys be connected with a particular season of the year? Can they be connected with his political position within the royal administrative apparatus? Moreover, in what period of life was a nobleman the most mobile? How far did he go? How long did his travels last? What was the impact of a nobleman's travel on his family, as well as on his servants and on the people in his proximity? What did a nobleman do on his travels?[1] This article will address these questions through a case-study of a single nobleman who lived and travelled in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The subject of this study, Lord Ivan Babonić, was an influential man with a successful political and military career, and is frequently found mentioned in diplomatic and narrative documents from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Babonić was one of the five sons of lord Baboneg II of the noble kindred of the Babonići. By the dawn of the fourteenth century, the Babonići had become the leading noble family in the medieval kingdom of Slavonia and among the most influential magnates in the Kingdom of Hungary. Their estates were among the most extensive in the Kingdom of Slavonia in this period, stretching from the river Vrbas in the east to the river Kupa and the border with the German Empire in the West, and, to the south, to the slopes of the Kapela Mountains.[2] Ivan Babonić was probably born sometime at the end of the 1250s or at the beginning of the 1260s. He was recorded for the first time in the charter issued on 31 March 1284.[3] During his life, Ivan became one

[1] Certain questions, such as the means and cost of travel, or travel for pleasure, cannot be answered from the surviving sources, which are mostly charters concerning the donation of lands. On the sources, see below.

[2] Thallóczy, 'Historička istraživanja o plemenu goričkih i vodičkih knezova', p. 334; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, p. 343; Ančić, 'Vlastelinstvo hrvatskoga hercega u Gorskoj županiji', pp. 219–20; Kekez, '"Između dva kralja"'.

[3] DZ, 6, p. 473.

of the richest and most influential people in the Kingdom of Slavonia. Indeed, between 1316 and 1322, he acted as ban (*banus*) of Slavonia, ruling in the name of the kingdom's Hungarian king.[4] In what follows, I first outline all Ivan's travels, as attested in the written sources, before turning to the political and social impact of the travels both on Ivan's life and the lives of members of his family.

Medieval Sources and Modern Scholarship

During the late Middle Ages most of the documents produced by the members of the noble Babonići kindred were held in the archive of the counts of Blagaj, who were one branch of this noble kindred and, by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, its only surviving descendants. Unfortunately, most of these charters were lost during the late medieval period, particularly during the second half of the fifteenth century, a time when the Babonići estates were frequently raided by the Ottomans. Because of the ongoing Ottoman threat, the counts of Blagaj attempted to move their archive from the castle Blagaj, situated on the river Sana in present-day western Bosnia, to a safer area closer to Zagreb.[5] When the counts of Blagaj eventually moved to Carniola in present-day Slovenia in the middle of the sixteenth century, all that remained of the medieval charters was also moved along with them.[6] Very soon after the death in 1898 of count Ludwig of Blagaj, the last member of the family, the archive was transferred to the Hungarian Museum Archive in Budapest, and today is held in the Hungarian State Archive (*Magyar Országos Levéltár*).[7] Furthermore, most of the medieval charters from what used to be the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and which were composed before 1526 (the battle of Mohacs) are kept today in two collections (*Mohács előtti gyűjtemény* and *Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény*) in the Hungarian State Archive. Certain medieval documents concerning the Babonić family are held in the Croatian State Archive (*Hrvatski državni arhiv*) in Zagreb, in the collections *Documenta medievalia varia* and *Neoregistrata acta*; some are also held in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts in Zagreb in the *Latinske isprave (1070–1859)*

[4] Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, pp. 36, 39–42, 91, 151–53; *Povijest Hrvata*, ed. by Šanjek, I, 259–90.

[5] See the episode described in the charter issued by the Chapter of Zagreb on 12 September 1471 (*A Blagay-csalad okleveltara*, ed. by Thallóczy and Barabás, p. 383).

[6] Šišić, 'Izvori bosanske povijesti', p. 32.

[7] Šišić, 'Izvori bosanske', p. 32.

collection. There are further charters relevant to the Babonići in the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia (*Arhiv Republike Slovenije*), Ljubljana (*Zbirka listn* collection) and the Austrian State Archive (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*), Vienna (*Allgemeine Urkundenreihe* collection).

Most of the medieval charters were first published in 1897 by Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Barabás in their collection of medieval charters of the Blagaj family.[8] This collection was subsequently amended in several other published volumes, the most important being the *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, begun under Tade Smičiklas in 1904 and continued under several other editors.[9] As well as appearing in documentary sources, however, certain members of the Babonići kindred, including Ivan Babonić, are mentioned in several medieval chronicles and historical narratives, largely written in northern Italy and now edited in various primary source collections.[10]

Many aspects of these sources remain to be exploited. In spite of the fact that nobility has been an object of Croatian historiographical studies since the eighteenth century, and irrespective of the recognized importance of the Babonići not only in the medieval Kingdom of Slavonia, but also in the wider area of the Kingdom of Hungary, research on this family is surprisingly sparse.[11] A similar situation obtains concerning modern scholarship on the mobility of the medieval Croatian nobility; few articles and books deal directly with this phenomenon. A notable exception is the work of Ivan Jurković, who has written several articles regarding the exodus of the Croatian nobility in the wake of the Ottoman raids of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well as investigations of social mobility amongst the lower nobility in the same period and circumstances.[12] There is at present, however, virtually no work available on the

[8] *A Blagay-csalad okleveltara*, pp. 1–520.

[9] See DZ 2–9.

[10] Antonio Bellono Utinensi, *Vitae patriarcharum Aquilejensium*, ed. by Muratorius; 'Fragmenta Chronici Forojuliensis', ed. by Muratorius; *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis liber certarum historiarum*, ed. by Schneider; Albertino Mussati, *De Gestis Italicorum*, ed. by Muratorius.

[11] On the development of modern scholarship concerning the medieval Croatian nobility see: Birin, 'Knez Nelipac i hrvatski velikaški rod Nelipčića'. For a review of the literature on the Babonići family see: Kekez, 'Plemićki rod Babonića do kraja 14. stoljeća', pp. 12–13.

[12] Jurković, 'Das Schicksal des kroatischen Kleinadels'; Jurković, 'Raseljena plemićka obitelj za osmanske ugroze' (2002); Jurković, 'Raseljena plemićka obitelj za osmanske ugroze' (2003); Jurković, 'Klasifikacija hrvatskih raseljenika za trajanja osmanske ugroze'; Jurković, 'Šesnaestostoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza i moderna sociološka terminologija'; Jurković,

1.	1284 March	Chapter of Zagreb	12.	1316 December	Visegrád
2.	1300 May	Chapter of Zagreb	13.	1318 March	Visegrád
3.	1308 May	Maribor	14.	1319 January	Visegrád
4.	1308 September	Port on the River Sava near Zagreb	15.	1320 September	Križevci
5.	1309 May	War in Furlany	16.	1321 Spring	Temesvár
6.	1309 September	Buda	17.	1322 Spring	War in Dalmatia and Croatia against Šubići of Bribir
7.	1310 May–July	War in Friuli			
8.	1310 August	Székesfehérvár	18.	1322 November	Okić
9.	1313 June	Topusko abbey	19.	1328 October	Székesfehérvár
10.	1313 Oct.–Nov.	War in Friuli	20.	1328 November	Visegrád
11.	1314 May	Topusko Abbey	21.	1334 July	Novigrad Podravski

Map 6.1. The Travels of Ivan Babonić (map by the author).

mobility of individual members of the higher nobility in Slavonia in the period before the Ottoman raids, that is, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is this lacuna that the following case-study begins to address.

'Socijalni status i prisilni raseljenici podrijetlom iz hrvatskih plemićkih obitelji'; Jurković, 'Osmanska ugroza, plemeniti raseljenici i hrvatski identitet'; Jurković, 'Ugrinovići od Roga'.

The Early Travels of Ivan Babonić and his Family

Although there is no record of Ivan Babonić's year of birth, it is very likely that he was probably born towards the end of the 1250s or the beginning of the 1260s. His probable date of birth can be calculated from the date of his first appearance in charters. Ivan appears to have still been in his minority according to the laws of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary in 1278, the date of a charter relating to a peace-making assembly between the Babonići and the Gútkeledi kindred held in the presence of Timothy, bishop of Zagreb.[13] The charter features the signatures of members of both families, but only two of Ivan's older brothers, counts Nicholas II and Stephen V, are named, while other the sons of Baboneg II are recorded only as the counts' brothers.[14] Bearing in mind that in Hungarian law, nobleman became adults at the age of twenty-four, we can assume that Ivan had not yet attained that age by 1278.[15] Ivan is first mentioned by name in a charter issued by the Chapter of Zagreb on 31 March 1284.[16] That he reached his majority between these two dates suggests a date of birth between 1255 and 1260.

The charter of 1284 is also the record of Ivan's first travels (Map 6.1, no. 1). The charter records that Ivan and his brothers, lords Nikola, Stjepan, Radislav, and Oto, visited Zagreb to buy some estates from the noble kindred of Ratetići, a family of the lesser nobility from the medieval county of Gora and neighbours of the Babonići, at that time living in Stjeničnjak castle.

In the period between 1284 and 1299 Lord Ivan Babonić is not mentioned in any preserved written document, and so nothing can be said about his travels at this time. At the very end of the thirteenth century, however, documents indicate that Ivan began to travel a great deal, not only to nearby places but also to more distant destinations. To understand this development, it is important to consider the wider context of Hungarian politics in the period. The final decade of the thirteenth century was a period of great political struggle for the Hungarian throne between the last member of the native Hungarian Árpád dynasty, King Andrew III, from Venice, and the pretenders from the House

[13] On the Gútkeledi kindred see: Karbić, 'Joakim Pektar, slavonski ban iz plemićkog roda Gut-Keleda'.

[14] DZ 6, p. 261.

[15] In article 111 of his first book Werbőczy wrote that boys became adult (*perfecta aetas*) at the age of twenty-four, while girls became adult at the age of sixteen: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Bak and others, v. 1, CXI, p. 192.

[16] See note 3.

of Anjou, from the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.[17] Each of these two claimants sought to gain the support of the powerful noble families of the Kingdom of Hungary, including the Babonići. The Babonići negotiated with both factions in this struggle, attempting in the process to gain as much as possible in terms of estates and political power. As a result, we find that in the 1290s Ivan Babonić and his brothers were mentioned several times in charters issued in Naples by King Charles II of Anjou and once in a charter issued in Buda by the Hungarian king Andrew III.[18] However, it is quite likely that, in 1299 and 1300 in particular, Ivan and his brothers did not actually undertake the journeys to Naples or Buda that the charters might seem to imply. It is more likely that they sent envoys to meet the kings, as happened in 1292 and 1294, when the envoys of their cousin count Radisalv I Babonić, Ladislav of Ozalj and a priest named Poncije, travelled in his name to Naples to meet king Charles.[19] Nevertheless, Ivan Babonić did not stay in Stjeničnjak, his family castle, for the whole year of 1300. We know that he and his brothers went once again to Zagreb in order to meet Mihovil, bishop of Zagreb, on May 26 1300 (Map 6.1, no. 2).[20] This was also a peacemaking assembly between two parties that had been quarrelling for some time.[21] Most of the journeys conducted by or on the part of Ivan Babonić in this early period, then, seem to have been connected in different ways with political conflict and peacemaking, including the national political struggle for the Hungarian throne.

The Travels of Ivan Babonić at the Peak of his Life

In the years 1300–22, that is, at the peak of Ivan's life, his travels were largely determined by political affairs of his family. With the arrival of the new Hungarian king Charles Robert in Buda in 1301, the political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary changed. This change affected the journeys of Ivan Babonić, who started to travel to different neighbouring countries than he had

[17] Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, pp. 109–11, 128–30; Karbić, 'The Šubići of Bribir', pp. 58–65.

[18] Charters were issued by King Charles II of Anjou on 7 September 1299 (DZ 7, pp. 355–56), 26 November 1299 (DZ 7, pp. 357–58) and 14 May 1300 (DZ 7, pp. 388–89); King Andrew III issued a charter to Babonići brothers in Buda on 1 August 1299 (DZ 7, pp. 351–53).

[19] DZ 7, pp. 149 and 186. For more detail see Kekez, 'Između dva kralja', pp. 73–74.

[20] DZ 7, pp. 389–91.

[21] Kekez, 'Između dva kralja', p. 80.

been accustomed to in the earlier period. National politics also affected the social and political position of the Babonići. The new king, crowned in 1309, was forced to wage wars against several pretenders to the Hungarian crown: Otton, Duke of Bavaria, the Bohemian king Václav II, and the Serbian king Stephan Dragutin.[22] Because these wars took place far from the estates of the Babonići, the family found themselves politically less important to the king than they had been, and thus neglected by him. This change in the family's political importance is signalled by King Charles Robert's removal of Ivan's brother, lord Stjepan of Stjeničnjak, from his powerful position as the *banus* of Slavonia.[23] After finding themselves in this inconvenient political situation, the Babonići attempted to find new powerful protectors. They connected themselves with the counts of Görz and Tyrol, who were their western neighbours. Through these neighbours, the Babonići hoped to reach out to even more powerful patrons: the Habsburg dukes of Austria. The leading actor in the family's new policy was Lord Ivan Babonić.[24]

In the early spring 1308 Ivan travelled to Maribor to meet with Duke Frederick of Habsburg (Map 6.1, no. 3). The assembly was held on 8 March 1308 and Ivan lent the sum of three hundred silver ducats to Duke Frederick for his military campaigns. In return, Duke Frederick gave Ivan and his brothers several villages in his lands near the border with the Kingdom of Hungary.[25] In the summer of 1308 Ivan joined Duke Frederick in his military campaigns in the lands on the eastern slopes of the Alps.[26] Indeed, Ivan besieged the important city of Slovenj-Gradec (now in Slovenia) on the Duke's behalf.[27]

However, Ivan did not only travel for military purposes in 1308. By the end of that summer he had returned to his family castle of Stjeničnjak.[28] Very soon after, he was summoned to the Royal Port of the river Sava, near Zagreb, to meet the pope's legate, cardinal Gentiles, who was at that time on his way to Buda in order to crown Charles Robert of Anjou as the new Hungarian

[22] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, II, 8–11; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, pp. 128–30.

[23] Kekez, 'Između dva kralja', p. 81.

[24] Kekez, 'Između dva kralja', pp. 81–85.

[25] DZ 8, p. 153.

[26] *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis liber certarum historiarum,* ed. by Schneider, pp. 11–12, ll. 32–37.

[27] *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, ed. by Seemüller, II, 1239, ll. 95535–38.

[28] This is known because Ivan issued a charter on 16 August 1308 while staying in his family castle. See Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte der Grafen von Blagay*, p. 153.

king.[29] Ivan was called as a witness in a dispute between his brother, Stjepan of Stjeničnjak, and Augustin Kažotić, Bishop of Zagreb. The dispute concerned the ownership of the important castle of Medvedgrad, situated on the slopes of the Medvjednica mountain, several miles north of the city of Zagreb and the bishop's see. The Royal Port may have been chosen as the site for arbitration because it was neutral terrain; Lord Stjepan of Stjeničnjak most likely did not want to enter the Bishop's city of Zagreb. Cardinal Gentiles may also have wanted to avoid delay to his journey from the great ceremonies that would inevitably have accompanied his entry into the city. In any case, the dispute was solved in Lord Stjepan's favour, and he was permitted to keep the castle of Medvedgrad.

In the following year Ivan Babonić was once again active in military campaigns. He waged war in Friuli, in modern-day northern Italy, on behalf of Count Henry II of Görz and Tyrol against Ottobono de Razzi, archbishop of Aquileia (Map 6.1, no. 5).[30] Count Henry was Ivan's brother-in-law; Ivan was married to Henry's sister, Clare Eufemia.[31] Most of the cities in Friuli supported the archbishop of Aquileia, while the most important supporter of Count Henry II was Rizzardo de Camino, the count of Treviso. In the early spring of 1309, Henry's and Rizzardo's troops were plundering and burning the estates of the archbishop around the city of Udine.[32] Nevertheless, both sides were equal in strength until the arrival of Ivan Babonić in Friuli at the beginning of May. On 15 May 1309 Ivan attacked and sacked the village of Mortegliano, south of Udine, an event mentioned in Bellono's *Vitae patriarcharum Aquilejensium*.[33] Following Ivan's attack, Archbishop de Razzi was forced to retreat as far as Piacenza, and thus ended the conflicts for that year.

This military campaign most likely finished by the end of the summer of 1309. Very shortly after his return to the castle of Stjeničnjak, Ivan was summoned to meet King Charles Robert, who was, at that time, in northern

[29] DZ 8, p. 225; Nada Klaić, *Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*, p. 57. On cardinal Gentiles and his activities on the eastern Adriatic coast and in Hungary in the intervening period see: Figueira, 'Legatus apostolice sedis'; Dokoza, 'Papinski legat Gentil i crkvene prilike'; Dokoza, 'Papinski legat Gentil i trogirske crkvene prilike'; Dokoza, 'Papinski legat Gentil i splitke prilike'; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, pp. 128–30.

[30] Štih and Simoniti, *Slovenska povijest do prosvjetiteljstva*, pp. 133–34.

[31] Kekez, 'Između dva kralja', p. 85.

[32] 'Fragmenta Chronici Forojuliensis', ed. by Muratorius, pp. 1216–18.

[33] 'Fragmenta Chronici Forojuliensis', ed. by Muratorius, p. 1218; Antonio Bellono Utinensi, *Vitae patriarcharum Aquilejensium*, ed. by Muratorius, p. 52.

Hungary. Ivan and his brothers, Stjepan V and Radislav II, travelled to the village of Lórév on Csepel Island, situated in the middle of the Danube River near to the city of Buda (Map 6.1, no. 6). Following a meeting with the king at the beginning of September, Charles Robert issued them, on 14 September, a charter with orders to protect the rights of the bishop of Zagreb to some estates south of that city.[34]

In the following year, Ivan Babonić returned to Friuli in northern Italy, again to fight on the side of his brother-in-law Count Henry II of Görz and Tyrol (Map 6.1, no. 7). The alliance between Count Henry and Count Rizzardo de Camino had ended by early in 1310, and Count Henry switched sides, now fighting instead alongside the forces of the Archbishop de Razzi.[35] Lord Ivan Babonić came into Friuli in May 1310 with an army of six hundred men, and the Count Rizzardo de Camino was finally defeated by the alliance of Henry, and the Archbishop, aided by Ivan Babonić, at the end of June 1310.[36] After these events, Ivan Babonić stayed in Friuli for a couple of days; as it is recorded that he was present in Udine on 10 July 1310 when the delegation of Henry VII of the House of Luxemburg stopped in that city on the way to his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome.[37] The delegation was welcomed by Count Henry II of Görz and Tyrol and by Ottobono de Razzi, archbishop of Aquileia, and Ivan is mentioned in their company.[38]

After this meeting, Ivan Babonić hastened to return his forces to Slavonia; he and his brother had been summoned by the Hungarian king Charles Robert to present themselves at his court in Székesfehérvár in northern Hungary in August of 1310 (Map 6.1, no. 8). The Babonići brothers, Ivan, Stjepan V and Radisalv arrived in Székesfehérvár in the middle of August. At this court, King Charles Robert appointed the oldest brother, Stjepan V of Stjeničnjak, as the new ban of Slavonia, and ordered him to protect the rights of the citizens of Zagreb on the estate named Kobile, situated near to that city.[39] The

[34] DZ 8, pp. 252–53.

[35] Kos, 'Odnošaji medju goričkim grofovima i hrvatskim plemstvom u srednjem vijeku', p. 288.

[36] 'Fragmenta Chronici Forojuliensis', ed. by Muratorius, p. 1221. Bellono also very briefly described the same events in his work: Antonio Bellono Utinensi, *Vitae patriarcharum Aquilejensium*, ed. by Muratorius, p. 52.

[37] Kos, 'Odnošaji medju goričkim grofovima i hrvatskim plemstvom u srednjem vijeku', p. 288.

[38] *Acta Henrici VII*, ed. by Bonaini, p. 24.

[39] DZ 8, p. 262.

reappointment of Lord Stephen V as a ban of Slavonia greatly restored the power of the Babonići.[40]

In the following few years, we find records of certain short, relatively local journeys. In 1312, charters indicate that Ivan spent a significant amount of time at his family castle of Stjeničnjak.[41] At the end of spring of 1313 Ivan undertook a journey of no more than ten miles to the Cistercian abbey of nearby Topusko (Map 6.1, no. 9). He and his brothers assembled there on the 8 June in order to divide their estates in the presence of Augustin Kažotić, bishop of Zagreb.[42] However, it seems that not all parties were satisfied with the outcome; a new decision was reached on 12 May 1314 that apparently satisfied all participants (Map 6.1, no. 11).[43] The lands in the County of Vrbas were awarded to Ivan and the castle of Vrbas became his new residence.

In autumn of 1313 Ivan Babonić was, however, once again called upon to make a longer journey to aid Count Henry II in the resumed conflict between the counts of Görz and Tyrol and Ottobono de Razzi, archbishop of Aquileia (Map 6.1, no. 10). Fighting once again on the side of Count Henry II of Görz and Tyrol, Ivan Babonić besieged the city of Udine and engaged in the plundering and burning of villages around the city for several days.[44] These events are described more in detail in the third volume of Albertino Mussati's *De Gestis Italicorum post Henricum septimum caesarem*.[45]

We next hear of Ivan when, following the death of his brother, the ban Stjepan V of Stjeničnjak in 1316, records indicate that he was summoned before King Charles Robert at his new court in Visegrád in northern Hungary (Map 6.1, no. 12). No later then 20 December 1316, Ivan was appointed as a new ban of Slavonia and received two very important castles in central Slavonia from the king.[46] In the following years Ivan travelled to Visegrád several times on his duties as a ban of Slavonia. His name appears in a list of noblemen present at the royal palace in Visegrád on 12 March 1318 (Map 6.1, no. 13).[47]

[40] Kekez, 'Između dva kralja', pp. 85–86.

[41] Ivan Babonić and his brothers issued charters on 9 September 1311 (DZ 8, p. 291) and on 11 November 1312 (DZ 8, pp. 321–22) while staying in their family castle at Stjeničjak.

[42] DZ 8, pp. 335–37.

[43] DZ 8, pp. 359–61.

[44] 'Fragmenta Chronici Forojuliensis', ed. by Muratorius, p. 1221.

[45] Albertino Mussati, *De Gestis Italicorum*, ed. by Muratorius, p. 596.

[46] DZ 8, pp. 439–42.

[47] DZ 8, pp. 491–93.

Moreover, Ivan was present in Visegrád on 10 January 1319 when King Charles Robert promoted two of Ivan's retainers, a certain Ivan and Juraj, sons of another Ivan, to the Order of noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary (Map 6.1, no. 14).[48] These two examples tell us that Ivan was present at the royal court in Visegrád in the beginning of the year, that is, in winter. This suggests that, during periods when travelling was difficult due to snow and bad weather, the bans of Slavonia may have stayed close to the king, at the royal court in Visegrád. The rest of the time, however, Ivan, though based at the ban's palace in Zagreb, was obliged to travel widely within the Kingdom of Slavonia to carry out the administrative and juridical duties of the ban, such as arbitrating in law suits.[49] Indeed, he often visited important cities and castles in the Kingdom of Slavonia in the course of his duties as a ban.[50]

One of the most important duties of the bans of Slavonia was to lead an army of Slavonian noblemen in the name of the Hungarian kings. Acting as ban of Slavonia, Ivan Babonić accompanied King Charles Robert on his military campaigns. In early spring 1321, when King Charles Robert raised an army and sent it to Transylvania to fight his opponents. At that time, King Charles Robert was waging war against the noble oligarchy and attempting to diminish the power of the noble families all over the Kingdom of Hungary and to restore royal power, which had diminished over the years. The king's main opponents in Transylvania were Count Moses Ákos and the sons of the late Count Ladislas Kán.[51] Because Ivan Babonić was present in the camp of the royal army in Temesvár castle in 1321 (Map 6.1, no. 16), it is very likely that he was there as the leader of an army of knights from the Kingdom of Slavonia.[52] The following year, in spring 1322, Ivan also led an army across the mountains to Croatia and Dalmatia against Count Mladen II of Bribir, who belonged to the Šubići family (Map 6.1, no. 17).[53] It should be underlined that the counts of Bribir were

[48] DZ 8, pp. 520–21.

[49] On the thirteenth-century Ban's palace in Zagreb, see Kekez, 'Palača građanina Giliona'. Ivan issued one charter acting as a ban of Slavonia while staying in Zagreb on 6 October 1322 (DZ 9, pp. 78–79). See also Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, p. 108.

[50] For example, Ivan visited the city of Križevci on 26 September 1320 and the castle of Okić on 8 November 1322 (DZ 8, pp. 572–73; DZ 9, pp. 36–37).

[51] Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, p. 133.

[52] DZ 9, p. 1.

[53] Madijev, 'Historija', p. 175.

among the most dangerous opponents of the kings and their representatives in medieval Croatia. Indeed, from the end of the thirteenth century, the counts of Bribir had almost become independent rulers in Croatia. Ivan Babonić was followed soon after by King Charles Robert himself, leading the royal army. Two battles were fought. The first battle took place near Šibenik, where Mladen's troops were defeated and forced to retreat south towards Klis. The final battle occurred at Bliska, near Klis. With the help of the troops of the free Dalmatian cities of Trogir and Šibenik, Mladen was finally defeated, captured and carried off to Hungary.[54] After these battles Ivan returned to Slavonia.

The Travels of Ivan Babonić in the Last Days of his Life

In the period between 1325 and 1334 — in the last years of his life — we see a decrease in the amount of travelling undertaken by Ivan Babonić. The travels that he undertook, moreover, were largely connected with his family's economic affairs. After crushing the rising power of the Šubići at Bliska, King Charles Robert turned his attentions to the powerful Babonići. In the year 1323 King Charles Robert appointed Count Nikola Omodeus as the new ban of Slavonia, replacing Ivan.[55] This hit Ivan Babonić very hard and he decided to defend his position with arms. Taking advantage of the complicated contemporary political situation, Ivan attacked ban Omodeus's army while it was marching south to defeat another noble uprising in Croatia. According to Miha Madijev, Ivan sent his son Ivan II Babonić to meet the new ban's army, probably in the valley of river Una, but the Babonići forces were defeated and Lord Ivan II was captured. In the process of this heavy defeat, the Babonići kindred lost more than four hundred horses.[56]

Following this defeat, Ivan Babonić tried to regain the king's favour, making contact with the king's nephew, Philip of Albany and Drač, who lived in Naples. Considering that Ivan Babonić was by now rather aged and the great distance between medieval Slavonia and Naples, it is very likely that he did not actually travel to Naples in May 1324, but instead sent envoys.[57] Unfortunately for Ivan, his envoys did not accomplish much. The title of ban was not restored

[54] Compare Karbić, 'The Šubići of Bribir', pp. 87–88.

[55] Nicholas Omodeus is mentioned as a ban of Slavonia for the first time on 30 May 1323 (DZ 9, p. 122).

[56] Gligo-Morović, *Legende i kronike*, p. 178.

[57] DZ 9, pp. 192–93.

to him. Duke Philip of Albany and Drač only granted Ivan the estates that he held at that moment. Considering the political circumstances of the time, this mattered little.

Not only did Ivan lose his political influence in his later years, but King Charles Robert also took from him Stjeničnjak castle, which had been the main stronghold of Babonići for several decades. After the bloody siege of Stjeničnjak castle in 1327, which was conducted by the new ban of Slavonia, count Mikac Prodavić, the Babonići kindred lost Stjeničnjak castle for good.[58]

In losing the title of ban, Ivan also lost the privilege of minting coins at the mint in Zagreb.[59] As a result, he also found himself in financial difficulties, and his last great journey, undertaken in late autumn 1328, reflects this. Ivan travelled to Székesfehérvár (Map 6.1, no. 19) in northern Hungary to find a buyer for his castle in Zrin. In the middle of October 1328 he tried to sell his castle in front of the Chapter of Székesfehérvár. Following some initial problems, Ivan finally managed to sell his castle to Count Peter of the noble family of Tóth on 18 October 1328.[60] Following the sale, Ivan had to travel yet further north to King Charles Robert's court in Visegrád to seek his approval of this transaction (Map 6.1, no. 20), which he received on 18 November 1328.[61]

The last known act of Ivan Babonić was on 25 July 1334. On this date, he issued a charter confirming his donation of several estates to the Paulite monastery of Saint Eugidius in Novigrad Podravski, on the river Drava (Map 6.1, no. 21).[62] It is plausible that Ivan Babonić lived his last days in the monastery of Saint Eugidius in the care of the Paulite monks. As the charter records that Ivan gave these lands to the monastery for the good of his soul, it is probable that it records some of his final wishes, and in that respects functions as a kind of last will and testament, perhaps written not long before his death. Following

[58] The siege is described in the charter issued by ban Mikac Prodavić on 16 November 1327 (DZ 9, pp. 358–60) and it most likely took place slightly before the composition of that charter. Thus the siege of Stjeničnjak castle must have taken place during the autumn of 1327.

[59] Throughout most of the Middle Ages, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the right to mint coins was the exclusive right of the bans of Slavonia. See Mirnik, 'Pravo hrvatskoga plemstva na vađenje rudače i kovanje novca'. Fourteen silver coins (*banovci*) minted by Lord Ivan Babonić while he was acting as the ban of Slavonia in the period from 1316 to 1322 survive: Rengjeo, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Münzen von Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien und Bosnien*, p. 28.

[60] DZ 9, pp. 410–11.

[61] DZ 9, p. 428.

[62] DZ 10, pp. 177–78.

this charter, no further references to Ivan Babonić as living are found in any medieval documents. If he died with the Paulites of Novigrad, it is likely that he was buried there.

The Influence of Ivan's Travels on the Babonići

We can see from the life story and travels of Ivan Babonić that members of the higher nobility, especially members of the magnate families of the medieval Kingdom of Slavonia, led highly mobile lives. In the case of Ivan Babonić, the majority of his journeys were undertaken between the years 1308 and 1325, when, aged between thirty-five and fifty, he was in the prime of his life. The journeys undertaken in his younger days were not so frequent and, as the preserved written sources show, he did not travel far away: mostly to Zagreb in order to visit the Chapter there. However, Ivan travelled less still as an old man, probably on account of ill health, quite possibly resulting from an active military life in his younger days. Of course, by that stage, his younger relatives had become the leaders of the Babonići, taking on the responsibilities that had necessitated his travels in younger days. Ivan's final great journey, in 1328, from Slavonia to Visegrád, was forced by an urgent need of money.

Looking over the pattern of the journeys Ivan took in his lifetime, we can see a tendency for Ivan to undertake one longer journey each year, which usually started in the late spring and lasted no longer than the end of the summer. During the rest of the year, while staying in the family's principal castle and residence, Ivan would normally conduct no more than three small journeys to nearby castles or to Zagreb (under thirty miles), the most important city of the Kingdom of Slavonia at that time. As the winter was not suitable for travelling, Ivan spent that part of the year in one of his castles. During his period as the ban of Slavonia (1316–22), however, he appears to have spent winter in the proximity of the King, in the royal castle of Visegrád.

While Ivan sometimes travelled considerable distances over considerable periods, this was not the norm. For his shorter trips between his principal castle at Stjeničnjak and nearby castles or cities, he usually travelled no more than fifty modern miles and those journeys usually did not last more than a week or two. Longer voyages over great distances, however, usually lasted several months. On the other hand, on his longer voyages, which usually lasted for a couple of months, he travelled great distances. For example, his military campaigns in Friuli in 1309, 1310, and 1313, took Ivan more than one hundred and thirty miles from his castle of Stjeničnjak. Moreover, his campaign in Transylvania in 1321 took him more than three hundred miles away from home. Of course, as

we have also seen here, sometimes instead of travelling himself, Ivan would have sent his envoys on longer journeys, especially in those cases where his presence was not obligatory.

Most of Ivan's travels discussed here related to economic questions, such as the obtaining and sale of estates or military and political matters, such as his various military campaigns on he part of the king. However, certain of his visits to the nearby Cistercian abbey in Topusko — the place chosen for the division of the Babonići estates in 1313 — were probably also pilgrimages. Topusko abbey was a pilgrimage centre in the period, and the altar of the Holy Cross in the chapel of Saint Nicola, which was located in the monastic complex in Topusko, was a family endowment and highly sacred to the Babonići.[63]

Ivan Babonić's travels had a significant social and political impact on both his life and that of his family. Ivan's travels enabled the political affiliation of the Babonići with their powerful western neighbours, whose estates were outside of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Political affiliation with the counts of Görz and Tyrol improved the political position of the Babonići. This political alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Ivan Babonić with Clare Eufemia, the sister of Count Henry II of Görz and Tyrol. Moreover, the contacts that Ivan established with the Habsburgs, the dukes of Austria, were firm, and became yet more important in later ages. In 1336, when the nephews of Lord Ivan Babonić, Counts Juraj, Dionizije II and Pavao, entered the official service of the Habsburgs.[64] And, of course, the family's journeys to King Charles Robert, along with their wealth and influence, probably influenced the king's decision to appoint first Count Stjepan V, and later Ivan himself, as the ban of Slavonia.

Finally, we can also trace some perhaps surprising social and political effects of Ivan's travels through the number of members of the lesser nobility from these newly-allied regions that entered into Ivan's service after his journeys. A list of Ivan's retainers present at the assembly in Topusko in 1314 indicates that many were of German origin, which had not been the case prior to his journeys.[65] The arrival of people of German origin in Ivan's service would have had

[63] Ančić, 'Cistercitska opatija u Topuskom do pretvaranja u komendu', p. 34; Bilogrivić, *Katolička crkva na području današnje Banjalučke biskupije do invazije Turaka*, p. 232; Kekez, 'Cistercians and Nobility in Medieval Croatia', pp. 272–75.

[64] DZ 10, pp. 249–50.

[65] For example, those present included Count Berthold of Retumberg as a retainer of Lord Stephen V Babonić, and certain Count Presignar who was a retainer of Lord Ivan Babonić ('[...] comite Perhtold de Retumberg [...] Presingario comite [...]'; DZ 8, p. 359). Their names suggest German origin. The names of most of the Babonići retainers suggest Slavic (Croat) origins.

both political and social impact; such retainers probably brought their families and traditions, introducing something of their ways of life into medieval Slavonia.

Conclusion

This case study of the journeys made by Ivan Babonić suggests that levels of mobility among the higher nobility within the medieval Kingdom of Slavonia were rather high. Their travels impacted upon national and regional politics, but also had social and cultural consequences. Travels over short distances and periods might be connected with the legal, economic and religious interests of one's family, while journeys over long distances were more likely to be connected with wider regional politics and military activity. Travels for military purposes could be successful irrespective of the outcome of a campaign; for the traveller and his family, an outcome that results in a political affiliation with a neighbouring power is a successful one. These kinds of affiliations might then be strengthened by marriages between families, formal alliance agreements, or feudal oaths of fidelity. Political affiliations made and confirmed in these ways might bear fruit, for both parties, many decades after being made. Ivan Babonić's case shows the critical importance of mobility for a nobleman; there is a direct relationship between levels of mobility and the growth and decline of political influence. One might even argue that the more mobile a noble or his family were, the more politically and economically influential, both locally and in the wider region.

This article has, I hope, opened up a number of potentially productive areas for future research. Studies of more individual medieval nobles would enable us to enhance this picture and to test some of the conclusions suggested by this single case study. Diachronic studies could also usefully investigate changes in mobility over time and correlate these with both external factors, such as periods of warfare, and infrastructural changes, such as developments in the road network. Finally, detailed case studies of individual members of the ranks of the lesser nobility in medieval Croatian lands would enable us to test one of the prevailing assumptions of modern Croatian historiography: that levels of mobility among the lesser nobility were low or non-existent.

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The Perfect Gentle Knight: Fourteenth-Century Crusaders in Prussia

Mary Fischer

Travelling to Prussia to take part in a crusade formed part of a European nobleman's rite of passage for much of the latter part of the fourteenth century. This paper will try to suggest some explanations for this phenomenon by looking at the constructions of chivalric masculinity and nobility, crusade, and pilgrimage developed in the *Chronicle of Prussia*. This text was commissioned, in both a Latin and vernacular version, by the grand masters of the German Order (often termed the Teutonic Knights) in the first third of the fourteenth century. It attempts to legitimize the crusades in Prussia and elaborates the ethos which the leadership was attempting to inculcate in its membership. It will be argued that this ethos laid the basis for the appeal this crusade exercised for the rest of the century.

The Context of the Prussian Crusade

When the city of Acre was lost to the crusaders in 1291, it might have been thought that the Age of Crusades would draw to a close. However, appetite for crusading warfare seems to have remained as keen as ever. Anthony Leopold calculates that during the period from shortly before 1291 until the

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cancellation of Philip VI's crusade in 1336 and the outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337, and especially during the pontificates of Nicholas IV and Clement V, over thirty treatises were written on the recovery of the Holy Land. Nicolas V's initiatives in particular prompted a wave of exploration and travel, in which missionaries were sent to the Ethiopians, Tartars, and Chinese, while Clement V promulgated a crusade in 1314 at the Council of Vienne.[1] None of the proposals to recover the Holy Land came to fruition, but crusading warfare continued to attract the European nobility. A notable example of this was the German Order's crusade against the Prussians and latterly the Lithuanians, which became a particularly popular locus of activity for knights from all over Europe in the fourteenth century.

In addition to carrying out the role for which it had originally been established in the Holy Land, the German Order first began campaigning in the area to the north and east of the Vistula in 1230. They entered the area on the invitation of Duke Conrad of Masovia, whose borders were under attack by the neighbouring pagan Prussians. Under the terms of the Treaty of Kruszwica, which Conrad entered into with the Order in 1230, it was allowed to keep all the lands it conquered thereafter. The conquest of Prussia was completed in 1283.[2] After the loss of Acre in 1291 the Order moved its headquarters briefly to Venice and finally in 1309 to the Marienburg (now Malbork, Poland) in its Prussian territories. During this period, the persecution of the Templars by Pope Clement V had begun and discussions were being held with Philip IV about merging the Templars and the Knights of St John under the leadership of the French king; the move to a remote part of Europe was undoubtedly in part a response to this.[3] There were no crusades in Prussia from 1272 until 1304, but thereafter, the Order turned its sights on the neighbouring Lithuanians, one of the only remaining non-Christian powers in the area. From then on wars against the Lithuanians continued throughout the fourteenth century.[4] A constant supply of crusaders to Prussia was essential to man these campaigns, since the Order itself did not have sufficient manpower to mount sustained offensives. The crusades therefore fulfilled the dual role of allowing the Order

[1] See Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, and Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis*.

[2] See Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 64, and Sikorski, 'Neue Erkenntnisse über das Kruschwitzer Privileg'.

[3] See Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 95–99 and Arnold, 'Akkon – Venedig – Marienburg'4.

[4] See Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, pp. 189–262.

legitimately to continue in existence and of providing an outlet for the enthusiasm for crusades which still existed but had lost its obvious focus. In order to achieve both these goals, however, the Order had to overcome doubts expressed by contemporaries about the role of the military orders in the loss of the Holy Land, and make the Lithuanian wars an attractive proposition for crusaders looking to fulfil their vow.[5]

Participation in the Prussian Crusade

We know that the Order was successful and that its appeal during the fourteenth century extended well beyond Germany to encompass most of Western Europe. Werner Paravicini has demonstrated that by 1329 at the latest participation had extended to the Netherlands and by 1336–37 to Flanders.[6] The first English participants arrived in 1328, and in 1331 Thomas of Ufford fought in the battle of Płowce against the king of Poland. The first documentary evidence of Scottish participation comes in 1356, although it is likely that Scots participated earlier than this. In 1335–36 the French took part and the following year Burgundians, Normans, and Bretons are in evidence. The first documented Italian was Galeazzo Visconti in 1343–44. By the 1360s the movement encompassed all of chivalric Europe, with the possible exception of the Iberian peninsula. It is likely the first Spaniards took part in 1336–37 but they are not documented until 1384–85. Writing at the end of the fourteenth century, Chaucer famously describes a typical knight in his prologue to the Canterbury Tales:

> A knyght ther was, and that a worthy man,
> That fro the tyme that he first bigan
> To riden out, he loved chivalrie
> Trouthe and honour, fredom and all curteisie.
> [...]
> Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne
> Aboven alle nacions in Pruce.
> In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
> No Christen man so ofte of his degree.[7]

[5] For a discussion of these issues and a reappraisal of the crusade after the loss of Acre see Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 20–21.

[6] Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, I (the following information is summarized from pp. 27–28).

[7] Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, 'General Prologue', ll. 43–46; 52–55. *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Benson, p. 24.

The rest of this article will examine how the order created an ethos which came to have such appeal across northern and western Europe.

The Role of the 'Chronicle of Prussia' in Legitimizing the Prussian Crusade

In 1326, a chronicle about the history of the crusades in Prussia was commissioned by the Grand Master, Werner von Orseln. The original version of the *Chronicle of Prussia* was written in Latin between 1326 and 1331 by Peter von Dusburg, a priest in the German Order.[8] It was written primarily as a record of the early history of Prussia and is still the text which underpins modern histories of the period. It is also thought to have been intended as a source document for the Order's negotiators in its disputes with Poland and the papal curia and as a legitimization of the crusades in Prussia.[9] As such, its intended audience can be presumed to be churchmen and diplomats. It also sets out the Order's rationale and justification for its crusades and is therefore also a key source for its ethos and self-image. Immediately after the Latin version was complete, another priest, Nicolaus von Jeroschin (*c.* 1280–1342) was commissioned to write a vernacular, verse translation of the chronicle. Jeroschin was chaplain to Werner von Orseln's successor, the Grand Master Luther of Brunswick. This grand master was central to the attempt to consolidate the Order's position in Prussia. The transfer of the headquarters to the Baltic had created controversy and dissent within the Order at a time when it was also under threat from external forces. At the same time it was also making the transition from being a campaigning force to the very different role of territorial overlord. To help address these challenges, Luther of Brunswick took measures to restore discipline and promote religious observance and also commissioned the writing of devotional literature including Bible translations.[10] He also commissioned Jeroschin's verse chronicle, with the stated aim of making the work accessible to 'allen dûtschen lûten' ('all German people').[11] The form of the chronicle makes it particularly suited to be read to an audience, although it may also have been used for private study. The text interprets the crusaders' victories as signs of

[8] Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, trans. by Scholz and Wojtecki.

[9] See for example Feistner, Neecke, Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, pp. 106–68.

[10] For an overview of this transitional period and Luther of Brunswick's role see Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 95–102.

[11] Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, ed. by Strehlke, p. 305, l. 162. All quotations translated by the author.

God's approval of their enterprise: 'dî zeichin grôz, dî wundir starc' ('the great signs and potent miracles', l. 143) which had been made manifest in Prussia. It is likely that Jeroschin's vernacular version of the chronicle was intended to play a prominent role in the process of positioning Prussia as a place where miracles happened and souls were saved.[12] The manuscript tradition suggests that his translation became widely disseminated from a very early stage. It was by far the most widely disseminated of the two versions of the chronicle during the fourteenth century; in fact, Dusburg's version was lost until the seventeenth century and Jeroschin's text became the main source for the early history of Prussia until Dusburg's was rediscovered.[13] This article will focus on Jeroschin's text. Although it is largely a faithful translation of the Latin, Jeroschin's version was evidently intended for the non-Latin speaking knight brothers and it differs in some small but telling respects from the Latin original.[14] Earlier critics, whose main interest in the text was as a historical source, criticized these changes as irrelevant or even frivolous.[15] While most of the changes relate to minor corrections or amendments to historical events, some of them are calculated to appeal explicitly to lay knights and reference ideas and language with which they were familiar. Jeroschin makes extensive use of the language of chivalry and courtly love, familiar from epic and lyric poetry. He also exploits the association of the Order with the Virgin Mary as a counterpoint to the temptation of earthly love: the Virgin was regarded as the Order's patron and the knights were often referred to as the *Marienritter* or 'knights of Mary'.[16] His descriptions of the consequence of battles also give far more prominence than Dusburg does to the plight of the women who were caught up in the conflict. It is likely that this is calculated to appeal to the knights' construction of the Christian knight as the protector of the vulnerable, in particular widows and orphans. In addition to this, he uses the language and imagery of the German mystics, influential as an expression of popular religion in northern Europe since the mid-thirteenth

[12] For Jeroschin's role, see Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia*, pp. 31–32.

[13] Fourteen manuscripts of Jeroschin's translation are still extant, of which at least seven date from the fourteenth century, and the earliest of which dates from *c.* 1341–50. See 'Nicolaus von Jeroschin' at the 'Handschriftencensus' project website <www.handschriftencensus.de> [accessed 14 May 2012]; Arnold, 'Nikolaus von Jeroschin', cols 1081–89 and 1053 (corrections). The earliest surviving manuscript of Dusburg's work dates from 1568.

[14] See Ziesemer, *Nicolaus von Jeroschin und seine Quelle*.

[15] See Ziesemer, *Nicolaus von Jeroschin und seine Quelle*, pp. 89–92.

[16] See Dygo, 'The Political Role of the Cult of the Virgin Mary in Teutonic Prussia'; Gärtner, 'Marienverehrung und Marienepik im Deutschen Orden'.

century, which itself often used chivalric terminology. What follows examines some of these aspects of Jeroschin's text in greater detail. This in turn may help to shed some light on the reasons why the Prussian Crusade became so popular. The article will therefore analyse how Jeroschin's text attempts to legitimize the crusade in Prussia. Firstly it will examine how he exploits the notion of crusade as both a physical and spiritual journey, and the latent constructions of both masculinity and nobility which emerge from this. It will then consider how Jeroschin positions Prussia within a tradition of crusade and pilgrimage in which place and destination held particular significance. Finally it will discuss the material and social incentives which were important factors in attracting crusaders to Prussia, just as to other crusading destinations in the fourteenth century.

Heaven or the Abyss: The Crusade as a Spiritual Journey

The first, and arguably most powerful, of the constructions of crusade and pilgrimage that influenced Jeroschin is that of pilgrimage as an inner journey to salvation and man's heavenly fatherland. This notion has its roots in the writings of St Paul, who describes the faithful as those who knew that they were 'peregrini, et hospites [...] super terram' ('pilgrims and strangers on the earth'; Hebrews 11. 13–16). Augustine develops this theme in the *Civitas dei*, in which he portrays the soul as a pilgrim on earth 'hastening to Jerusalem, the house of God'.[17] This idea is continued by St Bernard, who says of the clergy that they make pilgrimages 'not by setting out on [their] feet, but by progressing by [their] dispositions'.[18] The sense that all Christians were alien sojourners on earth, cast out from Eden and travellers in search of their spiritual homeland, became part of the basic lexicon of Christian pilgrim experience. In summarizing what constituted pilgrimage in this tradition in the medieval mind, F. C. Gardiner identifies the central features as exile, journey, heavenly fatherland, desire and hardship.[19] Leonard Bowman, addressing the attributes of the physical journey, extends this list to include adventure, transformation and return.[20]

[17] St Augustine, *De civitate dei*, Book 15, c. 1, cited in Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, p. 139.

[18] St Bernard, *Letters*, letter 431, cited in Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, p. 152.

[19] Gardiner, *The Pilgrimage of Desire*, p. 12.

[20] Bowman, 'Itinerarium: The Shape of the Metaphor', p. 5.

All of the points which Gardiner and Bowman identify as the fundamental features of a pilgrimage are developed in the initial descriptions of journeys to Prussia in the chronicle. In the account of the arrival of the first knight brothers in Prussia it is said that they

> [...] hattin gar verlorn
> daz sûze lant, dâ sî geborn
> und gezogin wârin
> und hattin sich vorvarin
> verre in ein vremde lant
> dar sî kummir manchir hant
> mûstin lîdin al ir jâr (p. 342, ll. 3451–57)

> [...] had lost the sweet land in which they were born and raised and travelled to a distant land where they must endure all manner of hardship for the rest of their lives.

They have turned their backs on 'vrîheit, êre, kunne/ und al der werlde wunne' ('freedom, honour, family and all the delights of the world'; p. 342, ll. 3475–76). The words of St Peter are quoted:

> Nu sich, hêrre got, wir hân
> ûf erdin alle dinc gelân
> und hân dir gevolgit schôn.
> Waz wirt darumme unser lôn? (p. 342, ll. 3489–92)

> Lord God, we have left all earthly things and have followed you. What shall be our reward? (compare Matthew 19. 27).

In return, they receive the kingdom of heaven: God will make their wilderness

> '[...] in allir wîs
> als daz gotis paradîs.
> In ir wirt wunne vundin
> und vroude in allin stundin (p. 342, ll. 3507–10).

> in every way into a heavenly paradise. There they will find wonder and always be joyful.

The core attributes of pilgrims and crusaders to traditional pilgrimage sites are therefore mirrored exactly in the account of the initial campaigns in Prussia, and the place itself in this reading can also be seen as standing for Jerusalem by virtue of its ability to fulfil crusading vows. The extent to which these elements are present in the Order's narrative of the campaigns in Prussia signals its desire to place its own armed crusade within the broader pilgrimage tradition.

Bowman's notion that pilgrimage in its ideal form consists of adventure and transformation is also reflected in the narratives of crusaders' experience, particularly that of those who themselves join the Order. Jeroschin addresses the idea of a *conversio morum* (literally 'conversion of manners'): a transformation, or the need to abandon earthly values in order for the soul to reach heaven, in the way in which he presents their decisions and their experiences. The account of Henry of Kunze's decision to join the Order describes the motivation of a man who had led a sinful life prior to his decision to join (pp. 562–65, ll. 22384–22671). It contrasts what the chroniclers see as the corrupt motivation of lay knights with the benefits of a life serving the church, but does so using and subverting the language of courtly epic poetry and romance. Kunze's conversion itself initially takes the form of a journey, in this case a dream of a metaphorical night-time journey across a nightmare landscape in the dark, in which the knight is tempted by a companion with offers of worldly gain:

> Ich breng dich, dâ dû nims nâch gir
> rîchir habe roubis mê
> wen dû î gewunnes ê (p. 562, ll. 22405–07).

> I will bring more plunder and costly goods than you have ever had before and they will be yours for the taking.

Lured on by his companion's promises, Kunze is only saved from falling into an abyss by his horse's refusal to go forward, and at this point his travelling companion is revealed as the devil.

Susan Stakel notes that, in dream visions, dreams often serve as 'a form of mediation between God and the people of God, and thus invariably are meant to convey an immutable truth'.[21] Here, however, the initial dream is of a journey to an abyss or the absence of God. After his encounter with the abyss, Kunze has a further dream of a court where the judges condemn him to death. Kunze swears that he will: 'sin leben andirs handiln | und in bezzir wandiln' ('live his life differently and better'; p. 563, ll. 22506–07) and takes an oath to join the German Order, declaring 'daz er wolde sunder sparn | in den Dûtschin ordin varn' ('that he would join the German Order without delay'; p. 563, ll. 22510–11). Immediately the court disappears. However, in a further allusion to the conventions of worldly epic poetry and to the Christian construction of woman as sinful temptress, Kunze's wife, who is described as 'minnenclîch | jung, eddil unde schone' ('Loving, young, noble, and beautiful'; p. 563,

[21] Stakel, 'Structural Convergence of Pilgrimage and Dream-Vision', p. 197.

ll. 22529–30) forbids him to travel. His hesitation allows the devil to confront him again with offers of worldly gain:

> [der tûvil] in troume im erschein
> in einis kungis wîse
> nach kuniclîchem prise
> mit vil rittirn ummegebbin
> und pflag im sulche rede gebin:
> 'Heinrich, dû bist ein vrechir man
> dî stat und dî burc saltû hân
> (im nennende dî vestin)
> und salt dîn herze bestin
> hin ûf rittirliche gir
> und dînen in der werlde mir
> sô wil ich dich rîchen
> und hî den mînen glîchen
> an hôen wirden wirdeclîch'.
> Dô begunde Heinrich
> in im selben denken:
> 'Ich sol mich billîch lenken
> in des hôen herren dînst
> des hant sô mildeclîchen zinst
> und so rîchlîch gebin tar' (pp. 563–64, ll. 22549–68).

> He [the devil] appeared to him in a dream as a king, adorned as befits a king and surrounded by many knights, and said to him: 'Heinrich, you are a bold man. I will give you this town and this castle (naming them) and if you make your mind up that you want the rewards due to a knight and serve me in the world, I will make you rich and honour you as I honour my own.' Heinrich began to think to himself, 'It would be good to serve this great lord, whose generosity can bring me great rewards and riches'.

Directly after this encounter, Kunze has a vision of Christ, who counters the devil's offer with rewards of his own: 'Mir ist vil richer milde bî | wen disem valsche kunge sî' ('I can offer far greater generosity than this false king'; p. 564, ll. 22576–77). Nonetheless, the appeal of his wife still remains too strong and it is only after being repeatedly woken by more divine intervention in the form of thunderous hammering on the walls that both concede: the wife goes to a nunnery, while Kunze joins the Order and leads an exemplary life there. His joining the Order after repeated failures to carry out his oath is presented as a kind of awakening from a stupor: 'lâz des slâfis gûf | want dîne brûdre, dî sint ûf' ('abandon the haze of sleep. Your brothers are up and active'; p. 564, ll. 22606–07).

The anecdote about Kunze represents a very clear form of *conversio morum*. Worship of God and worship of the devil are juxtaposed in similar language as alternative forms of chivalric service and the knight is required to choose the correct way. In contrast to the role of the idealized female in the conventions of courtly love, the wife in this anecdote is cast in the biblical role of Eve and portrayed as a hindrance to his attaining salvation. The knight transcends the worldly temptations for the sake of his eternal soul, which is rescued from the brink of the abyss of eternal damnation. Specifically, here, this is presented as joining the German Order.

All the accounts of knights' decisions to travel to Prussia have in common the struggle between the lure of worldly temptation, on the one hand, be it a desire for wealth and influence (as in Kunze's case) or for the trappings and glamour of the worldly chivalric existence, and on the other hand the chivalric service of Christ where conventional rewards are replaced by the spiritual rewards of the *imitatio Christi* that are available to the crusader. A second incident continues the implicit juxtaposition of worldly and spiritual values, using the familiar language of chivalry but subverting the listeners' expectations. It relates the story of a knight, Hermann Sarrazin, also travelling to join the German Order. Whereas in the anecdote about Kunze the woman was depicted as Eve, in this story the Virgin represents Eve's spiritual counterpoint. By implication, service of the Virgin transcends service of mortal woman, and offers a more fulfilling reward to her champion:

Dô sold er rîtin, als ich las
inpfâhin der cleidunge segn.
Nû secht – dô vant er undirwegn
ûf einem plâne rittir vil
ûbinde dâ rittirspil
mit juste, mit hurdîren
mit schuste, mit turnîren.
Und dô er in dî nêhe quam
einen rittir er vornam
ûf der bane dâ gereit
mit wâpenin wol angeleit
und ritirlîch gezîrit
man unde ros vorlankenîret.
Vor dem wart sus gecreiret
ob îmant dô were
sô tuchtic, sô gewêre
der in mit dem spere
wold in schuste bestân

umme habe, als der man
dâ zu velde quême;
daz rîtin ouch gezême
zu êrin der juncvrouwin sîn.
Dô diz hôrte Sarrazin
der rede bleib er unvorzait.
Er hofte an dî zarte mait
dî er in lîbe hatte irkorn
und ir zu dînste sich gesworn
Marien ich dô meine.
Durch dî sûze reine
stapft er ûf dî bane
und allis zwivils âne
sprencte er den rittir ann
und stach in sunder wân
in dem êrstin rîtin
daz man in sach glîten
mit valle ûf dî erde.
Dî wâpin mit dem pferde
er den armin dâ vorgab
und reit also herab (pp. 422–23, ll. 10376–10414).

He was riding to the ceremony where he would receive the habit and the blessing and on his way there he came across many knights practising their skills on a meadow: jousting, fighting with spears, duelling on horseback and engaged in tournaments. When he came close to them he saw one man in the arena equipped with all his weapons and all the trappings of a knight, both man and horse fully caparisoned in chivalric regalia. In front of him a herald was demanding whether anyone there was so bold and skilful that he would engage in a joust for a prize and in honour of his lady. When Sarrazin heard this he made his mind up. He put his trust in the tender maiden he had chosen and in whose service he had dedicated himself, I mean Mary of course. In the name of the pure Virgin he marched into the arena, confidently attacked the knight, unseated him with his lance at the first attempt and knocked him to the ground. He gave the arms and the horse to the poor and rode away.

The Virgin Mary becomes the Christian knight's lady and the winnings are given away as charity. Early critics remarked on Jeroschin's extensive knowledge of chivalric terminology and the frequency with which he uses this vocabulary, often questioning its validity in a document of this nature written by a cleric.[22]

[22] See for example Ziesemer, *Nicolaus von Jeroschin und seine Quelle*, pp. 89–90.

However, the validity of such language in a text designed to attract knights is obvious. He subverts the normal use of this vocabulary, enlisting it instead in the service of the 'Marienritter', or 'Knights of Mary', as the Order was known, knights who acted out their own form of chivalry in the service of the Virgin.[23] In so doing he subverts and reshapes contemporary behavioural paradigms of masculine behaviour.

The most striking passage in Jeroschin's chronicle that encompasses all these ideas but reformulates them in a different idiom relates to the crusades to the Holy Land. It is a lyrical passage which represents a significant expansion and reworking of the Latin source and describes the loss of Acre in 1291. The passage was entitled 'Lament for the Holy Land' by the scribes who copied later manuscripts (pp. 556–57, ll. 21934–22046). In it, Jeroschin fuses the ideas of courtly love taken from twelfth and thirteenth century lyric poetry with the imagery and terminology of feudal lordship, the biblical Song of Songs with the language of the mystics who were a dominant influence on languages and theological expression in Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In so doing, he creates a statement of the value of pilgrimage that encapsulates the particular concerns of the warrior class and popular religion in the early fourteenth century. In the 'Lament', Jeroschin identifies the lady who is the object of the speaker's devotion as the Holy Land itself. He addresses her:

> Ô allir lande vrouwe
> ô wunnenbernde ouwe
> ô dû keiserlîchir plân
> ô der reckin siggeban
> ô eddelir boumgarte
> ô ackir sûzir arte
> ô irdischiz paradis.
> Dû wêre gote minnenclîch
> den heiligen engeln wunnenclîch
> und al der werlde wundirlîch
> [...]
> Got dich im selbin melte
> ûz al der werlde irwelte
> das dû im soldis wesin truit
> unde lîb alsam ein bruit.
>
> (pp. 556–57, ll. 21934–51; compare Song of Songs 2. 3; 8. 5)

[23] A similar motif is found in the later fourteenth century romance, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by Silverstein, line 649.

> Mistress of all lands, o wondrous meadow, imperial plain, site of heroes' victories, noble orchard, field of generous harvests, earthly paradise [...] God chose you from the whole world as His bride, to be as loyal and loving to Him as a bride.

In describing the Holy Land as united in mystical union with God, Jeroschin here echoes the language of the mystics.[24] The Holy Land is the location on earth at which God became man and it is thus also the location at which men could renew their own links with God by fulfilling their crusading vow. It is both the physical location for pilgrimage and crusade, and hence a means for mankind to find salvation, and also a metaphor for the knights' relationship with God. The 'imperial plain' belongs to God, but also in a temporal sense to the pope and the emperors and princes who have led the crusade. The 'heroes' victories' are both physical, in that they overcome their non-Christian enemies, and spiritual, in that they gain absolution from their sins. The 'harvest' here implies the gain to men's souls, and the 'earthly paradise' indicates the location where men can save themselves by serving the true emperor, God, on earth. The journey to the Holy Land is a metaphorical as well as a physical one: to paradise on earth and, at the same time, the soul's journey to heaven.

In the same text, Jeroschin also presents the lady — the Holy Land — as the embodiment of mother church, who, in being overrun by non-Christian enemies, has been violated. She combines the attributes of the Virgin Mary, the mother church and the lover's beloved, and is described in the highly sexualized language of the Song of Songs:

> Eiâ ir edlen vurstin
> lât ûwir herze durstin
> nâch den sûzin brustin mîn
> dî gîzen balsim unde wîn
> milch, honig âne bittere.
> Eiâ ir werdin rittere
> darzû ir vrechin knechte
> prûvit alle rechte
> warûf sich ûwir adil bîlt.
> Begrîfit wâpin unde schilt
> und mir zu hilfe ûch richtit ûf!
> Dî swert gebunden zu der huf
> zuckit kegn den heidin
> unde von den leidin
> irlôsit mich ellendin!

[24] For a discussion of this *topos* see Bertelsmeier-Kierst, 'Bräute Christi'.

Intnemit mich den hendin
der menigen sundêre
und vrîet mich von swêre.
Daz wol von rechte tût ir
wen ich bin ûwir mûtir
dî ûch gebar der cristinheit.

(pp. 557–58, ll. 22026–46; compare Song of Songs 5. 1; 6. 8; 6. 9–10)

> Noble princes, let your hearts thirst for my sweet breasts, which flow with balsam and wine, milk and honey, with no trace of bitterness. Worthy knights and bold men, show me what your claim to nobility is founded on! Take up your weapons and your shield and rise up to help me. With your sword on your hip strike out against the heathens and release me, poor wretch, from all my sufferings. Take me from the hands of faithless sinners and free me from my troubles. It is right that you should do this because I am your mother, who gave birth to Christianity for you.

The appeal to the crusading Christians, drawing heavily on the imagery of the Song of Songs, defines the knights' claim to nobility by their willingness to travel to the support of this land, imagined as a woman. Within the context of the chronicle, the knights whom the Order recruited as members had traditionally been sons of noblemen, citizens of towns, or *ministeriales*, the unfree knights who made up the bulk of German knighthood at that time.[25] Particularly for those more contingent noblemen, Jeroschin implicitly suggests here, engaging in the Prussian campaign was an opportunity to consolidate their claim to both true nobility and manliness in the context of crusade. The knights' claim to nobility, furthermore, is not theirs by right, or conferred by man or birth, but is dependent on their response to the church's appeal. The mystic Mechthild von Magdeburg speaks of the soul that is 'geheiliget in der Minne und geedelt an tugenden' ('sanctified by love and ennobled by virtue').[26] This language and imagery combines an appeal to the lay nobility for whom the language of courtly love was still familiar, with the relatively new, heightened language of lay piety.

[25] See Boockmann, *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, p. 91. The Order originally recruited from a relatively broad range of society, but the process of becoming a fully aristocratic foundation was already beginning in the mid-fourteenth century.

[26] Mechthild von Magdeburg, *Das Fliessende Licht der Gottheit*, ed. by Vollman-Profe, p. 105; see Luers, *Die Sprache der deutschen Mystik des Mittelalters im Werke der Mechthild von Magdeburg*, p. 124.

The Importance of Place: Constructing Prussia as a Pilgrimage Site

While pilgrimage was, in its essentials, an internal voyage, and 'the progress of individuals and the human race along this way has depended [...] upon rejecting the wrong paths and choosing instead right belief and right action', pilgrimage also gained its significance to a large degree from the value of the place visited.[27] Molly Robinson Kelly refers to the site of pilgrimage as an 'efficacious space', one where spiritual benefits were available to those who visited.[28] To be worthwhile, a destination for pilgrimage had to offer benefits which could not easily be obtained elsewhere. According to Kelly, '[an] important motivation for many pilgrims was the belief that the place they were visiting possessed the power to heal infirmities, solve problems, grant wishes or accomplish miracles'.[29] Pilgrimage sites outside the Holy Land, such as Rome, Santiago de Compostela or Monte Sant'Angelo di Gargano derived their authenticity from links with saints. The remains of the Apostle James are said to be buried in Santiago de Compostela, while St Michael is said to have appeared to the bishop of Sipontum at Mount Gargano and to have interceded on behalf of the Langobards in battle.[30] Both places are associated with miracles attributed to divine intervention. According to Dorothea French, furthermore, 'developing pilgrimage sites gained authenticity and prestige when their foundations were grafted onto older roots and consecrated by the association with a holy woman'.[31] This process was not only true of the Holy Land, where St Helena was the original pilgrim in the medieval sense, but was also true of other pilgrimage sites. Peter Brown, in his exposition of the development of the cult of saints in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages sums this up by describing these sites, or shrines to the saints, as places where heaven joined earth.[32]

Identifying Prussia with Jerusalem

One of the challenges that faced the German Order was to transfer the authenticity of a crusade from Jerusalem to Prussia, which could have had no such inherent value in the eyes of contemporaries; Prussia had no holy sites and no

[27] Gardiner, *The Pilgrimage of Desire*, p. 12.

[28] Kelly, *The Hero's Place*, p. 48.

[29] Kelly, *The Hero's Place*, p. 37.

[30] Kelly, *The Hero's Place*, pp. 37 and 53.

[31] French, 'Journeys to the Center of the Earth', p. 54.

[32] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 1.

tradition of pilgrimage. A process to construct Prussia as a site for pilgrimage and crusade in this way is evident from the text. As is clear in Jeroschin's introduction, discussed above, the achievements of the Order itself were seen as evidence of divine intervention and for Prussia's status as a place where miracles happen. However, more evidence was clearly required. Thus the text proceeds carefully to build the argument, drawing parallels with crusading sermons and biblical precedents. As a prerequisite, the legitimacy of the Order's campaigns in Prussia is established. The rationale for the Order's presence is set out in descriptions of the pagans' attacks on the mission church which had been established there in 1209 by the Cistercian Bishop Christian (pp. 321–22, ll. 1576–1675).[33] These descriptions parallel accounts of atrocities in the preaching of the crusade to the Holy Land, sometimes nearly verbatim. The description of the attack on Masovia, for instance, contains all the elements of Robert the Monk's description of the sack of Jerusalem: the desecration of churches, murder of clerics and lay people, looting and burning (pp. 321–22, ll. 1576–1675).[34] These attacks on Christian's church, the chronicle explains, led ultimately to the German Order being invited to defend the newly Christianized region in 1225. Papal approval was granted by Pope Gregory IX, who then exhorted the knights to attack the heathen in the same way that Judas Maccabeus had (pp. 325–27, ll. 2004–2129). Indeed, the text quotes Judas's exhortation to his brothers to defend the holy places:

> 'Sune, gurtit ûwir swert
> und sît an creftin wert;
> [...]
> wan uns bezzer is dî nôt
> daz wir in strîte ligin tôt
> wenne daz wir sullen sêhn
> und in jâmirkeite spêhn
> unser volc bemeilgin
> und auch unser heilgin'
>
> (p. 326, ll. 2040–41, 2046–51; 1 Maccabees 3. 58–59).

[33] For an account of the history of the crusades in Prussia see Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 80–104.

[34] Compare *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade, Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. by Sweetenham, pp. 79–80. For further parallels with the Robert the Monk's account of the first crusade, see Fischer, *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, p. 8.

> Sons, gird on your swords and be brave; for it is better that we die in battle than suffer the distress of seeing our people and our saints defiled.[35]

In this way, the weight of biblical and historical precedent is ranged on the side of the Order and the link between Prussia and the Holy Land made explicit.

Fostering the Cult of Relics

In addition to creating a clear theological basis for the Prussian crusades, linking it explicitly with attacks on Jerusalem, another part of the strategy to make Prussia into a place of 'spiritual magnetism' appears to have been the fostering of the cult of saints in Prussia.[36] Writing about the shrines to the early martyrs, Peter Brown emphasizes the way in which a particular place could have special characteristics as a link between earth and heaven:

> Hic locus est: 'Here is the place,' or simply hic, is a refrain that runs through the inscriptions on the early martyrs' shrines of North Africa. The holy was available in one place, and in each such place it was accessible to one group in a manner in which it could not be accessible to anyone situated elsewhere.[37]

The Order appears to have attempted to construct Prussia as such a locus in its promotion of the cult of St Barbara. The chronicle relates that a relic of the saint was discovered during an assault on a castle belonging to one of their opponents (pp. 375–79, ll. 6277–6670). This find is described at far greater length by Jeroschin than in the Latin original, suggesting its meaning was of particular relevance to the audience targeted by the vernacular version. The contrast becomes clear if we compare two passages in the different versions. The Latin conclusion to the story is short and to the point:

> frater Theodoricus [...] has sanctas reliquias versus Colmen duxit, ubi clerus et populus cum solemne processione occurrens eas ad ecclesiam portaverunt et ad Castrum Antiquum posuerunt, ubi usque in presentem diem propter crebra miracula, que per eam Dominus operator, in veneracione assidua requiescunt.[38]

[35] For a discussion of the importance of the Maccabees to the German Order see Fischer, 'The Books of the Maccabees and the Teutonic Order'.

[36] James J. Preston's definition of a place of pilgrimage: Preston, 'Spiritual magnetism: An Organising Principle for the Study of Pilgrimage'.

[37] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 86.

[38] Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, trans. by Scholz and Wojtecki, III. 36, pp. 138–39.

> Brother Theodoric [...] took the holy relics to Kulm, where the churchmen and lay people came out to meet them in a solemn procession, took them to the church and placed them in Althausen, where they are held in constant reverence to this day on account of the numerous miracles God has performed through them.

Jeroschin replaces this with one hundred and seventeen lines of verse (pp. 378–79, ll. 6553–6670) in which he narrates the procession in great detail, describing the beauty of the banners and ceremonial robes and mentions the penitents walking barefoot and those in coarse robes in the procession, thus making explicit links with the practices of pilgrimages: 'barvûz sach man dîse gân: sô gîngin jene wullîn' ('Some went barefoot, others wore coarse wool'; p. 378, ll. 6568–69). Jeroschin's reworking of the passage finishes with a hymn to Barbara, in which he unambiguously states the benefits the relics bring to Prussia and by association to the German Order:

> Ô wol dich, wol dich, Prûzinlant
> vrou dich, vrou dich immer mêr
> daz der prisant also hêr
> rûin wil in diner schôz
> unde wesin dîn genôz!
> Ouch vroie, vroie, vroie dich
> dû dûtschir ordin, sunderlich
> daz dû sus begnâdit bis!
> Jâ hâst dû des ein pfant gewis
> von der sûzin Barbaran
> daz sî dich nimmer wil vorlân (p. 379, ll. 6646–56).

> Hail, hail Prussia, rejoice, rejoice forever that this gift has chosen to rest in your arms and be your companion. You too rejoice, rejoice, rejoice German Order, that you have been blessed in this way. You have a secure pledge from sweet Barbara that she will never leave you.

The importance of the cult is also attested by the fact that Jeroschin's patron, Grand Master Luther of Brunswick, is known to have written a life of St Barbara, which has, however, not survived.[39] In his discussion of the role of relics in the development of the cult of saints in the western church, Peter Brown writes that: 'its power in the community was very much the condensation of the determination of that community to believe that it had been judged

[39] See Fischer, *The Chronicle of Prussia*, pp. 14 and 94.

by God to have deserved the *praesentia* of the saint'.[40] In this reading, the cult of St Barbara can be seen as an outward sign of the Order's determination to present Prussia as just such a deserving community.

Prussia and the Cult of the Virgin Mary

The establishment of local saints was an important tactic in the Order's attempts to redefine Prussia as a locus for pilgrimage and crusade. However, it is in the Order's exploitation of its claim to a special relationship with the Virgin Mary that this process is most evident. The most explicit example of this occurs when the Virgin Mary appears in a dream to the King of Hungary during an attack on the Kulmerland. In the dream, she refers to Prussia as her heritage:

> Wes wûstis dû mîn erbe
> mit dînes volkes lûte
> daz mir mit reinem blûte
> manchis christen vor der vrist
> gekouft und gepflanzit ist? (p. 620, ll. 27444–48).

> Why are you destroying my heritage with your people, land which was bought and planted with the pure blood of many Christians?

This direct reference to *erbe* (inheritance), as well as the echoes of earlier crusading propaganda, positions Prussia as the land of the Mother, in contrast to the Holy Land, which is the land of the Son. The notion of the Holy Land as Christ's and therefore the Christians' inheritance or *haereditas* was well-established in the context of traditional crusade. However, this passage also appeals to its target audience by referencing notions of feudal vassalage. In the case of pilgrimage and crusade, the heritage is interpreted both as the land in which Christ lived, the church that embodies his faith, and the heavenly paradise that awaits his heirs. By transferring this terminology to the new church in Prussia and linking it not with Christ but with the Virgin Mary, the Order references the earlier traditions of crusading, discussed above in relation to the Holy Land, which were already well-known and well-established through lyric and epic poetry, and adapts it to Prussia.[41] A similar strategy is evident in an account of how Prussian prisoners, taken after a victory the Order won against overwhelming odds, report having seen an unidentified young woman, 'dî

[40] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 92.

[41] See also p. 388, ll. 2104–29; p. 341, l. 3370; p. 388, ll. 7,438–40; p. 617, ll. 27114–22.

allirschônste juncvrouwe | dî î ûf erdin wêr irkant' ('The most beautiful young woman ever seen on earth'; p. 461, ll. 13738–39) carrying the brothers' banner:

> 'der juncvrouwin aneblic
> gab uns, jân sî, sulchin schric
> dâvon intweich al unse craft
> und wurdin alsô zagehaft
> daz wir ôt nicht intochtin
> noch uns gewerin mochtin' (p. 461, ll. 13743–48).

> the sight of the young woman gave us such a fright that all our strength left us and we became so fearful that we were incapable of anything, even of defending ourselves.

It is clear from the context that the young woman is the Virgin. Her intervention again serves to legitimize both the Order and the place. It also reflects a stage in the early development of the idea of crusade in which the involvement of warrior saints on the side of Christians in decisive victories contributed to the development of the idea of meritorious warfare.[42] In the context of the Order, this role is taken by the Virgin. In Prussia, the role of the Virgin Mary is central to the development of the idea of a righteous crusade; whereas the Holy Land is the land of the son, Prussia is the land of the Mother.

Crusading as a Source of Social Status

For a religious institution that depended for its legitimacy on its spiritual credentials, these strategies to bolster the legitimacy of the German Order and establish Prussia as an authentic location for crusades clearly took priority. However, the Order was also sufficiently pragmatic to understand that a plea for support to kings and princes must also appeal to some extent to their vanity. Scholars have noted that, in the later Middle Ages, the idea of pilgrimage as a penitential act was gradually supplanted to some extent by the idea of a simple contract.[43] Sabine Penth notes that for the late medieval nobleman, the acquisition of honour and social prestige through pilgrimage was at least as important as the spiritual benefit in the construction of his self-image as a noble man, and indeed this seems to be borne out in the lines from Chaucer quoted above. Penth cites the example of Count Palatine Ottheinrich, who visited the Holy

[42] Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 35–56.

[43] See Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 140.

Land in 1521, and justified the expense, paid for through taxation, by the honour and prestige it brought the family name.[44] To achieve prestige, it was necessary to be seen to be travelling and to document the trip, hence the coats of arms which noble pilgrims carried with them and deposited at points along their route, notably in the Doge's palace in Venice, and the graffiti scrawled on the walls of the holy places.[45] Being knighted at Christ's grave carried the highest prestige for these noblemen, and, if this highest accolade was not within their reach, it was possible to gain the insignia of other orders devoted to the recovery of the Holy Land *en route*. These noble pilgrims increasingly behaved like tourists rather than penitents. Felix Fabri complained about the behaviour of noble pilgrims in his own trips to the Holy Land in the fifteenth century, accusing them of parodying and mocking the faithful.[46] The beginnings of these trends can be seen, too, in Jeroschin's chronicle. While the chronicler is careful to establish the religious credentials of their 'armed pilgrimage', he is not above pointing out that the Lithuanians, against whom most of the new crusaders would be pitted in battle, were worthwhile opponents:

> dî heidin sîn irkennit
> des lîbis grôz, starc unde risch
> mûtes kûne, zangir, vrisch
> zu strîte, darzû swinde
> want sî ûf von kinde
> sich daran ûbin alle zit (p. 514, ll. 18313–18).

> the heathens are characterized by a tall and powerful physique, they are brave and always ready for a fight, and are also skilful warriors, because they have practised constantly since childhood.

There is no honour, after all, in fighting inferior opponents. The chronicle also features instances of young men being knighted after battles (p. 566, ll. 22814–18) and plentiful references to the booty successful pilgrims might expect after a campaign.[47] Conversely, with so much at stake, there was also

[44] Penth, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem*, p. 130.

[45] Penth, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem*, p. 131.

[46] Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem*, ed. by Hassler, II, 94, cited in Penth, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem*, p. 133.

[47] Plunder was essential for the Order to be able to run its territory in Prussia as well as an incentive to pilgrims, and there are references to it in nearly every encounter with the pagans: see for example p. 492, ll. 16339–62; p. 497, ll. 16810–12; p. 624, ll. 27736–38.

great concern when circumstances, usually severe weather, meant that pilgrims were unable to take part in a campaign and gain the associated advantages (pp. 600–01, ll. 25756–89; p. 603, ll. 25954–73; p. 622, ll. 27583–275624).[48] Provision was also made for suitable hospitality. At the time of the writing of Jeroschin's vernacular version of the chronicle, the Grand Master Luder of Brunswick was in the process of transforming the Marienburg from a fortress and monastery into a prince's palace capable of entertaining the crowned heads of Europe.[49] Later in the century, selected knights would be invited to take part in an *Ehrentisch*, a table of honour — Chaucer's 'bord' — in which twelve knights selected by heralds on the basis of their achievements were entertained by the grand master round a round table.[50] The walls of the Marienburg also still bear the traces of the painted coats of arms of pilgrims who crusaded on the Order's behalf, ensuring that their participation was obvious to later crusaders. By the end of the fourteenth century, worldly motivations appear to predominate; the next chronicler of the Order, Wigand of Marburg, writing in the final decade of the fourteenth century, is a herald not a priest, and his concerns are prestige and status, not religious experience.[51] Paradoxically, however, even the debasement of an ideal is evidence for its existence, and without the earlier ideological grounding it is unlikely the crusades would have gained such popularity.

Conclusion

This article has traced Jeroschin's exploitation and subversion of lay chivalric ideals in order to develop the idea of a masculinity which is defined by service to God, through the German Order, whose rewards are spiritual, and not measured by wealth or status, and where the notion of service to the lady is transferred to service of the Virgin. Jeroschin uses the language of lay religion, particularly of the German mystics, to further define his notion of masculinity and particularly of nobility, which is presented as deriving from service and not birth. He acknowledges the traditions of townspeople in his descriptions of church

[48] In 1324, mild weather meant campaigning had to be abandoned: p. 603, ll. 25954–73.

[49] See Arnold, 'Luder von Braunschweig', pp. 65–70; Helms, *Luther von Braunschweig*, pp. 158–59.

[50] See Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 117; Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, I, 316–33.

[51] Helm and Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 165–68.

processions and celebrations. Finally, he develops the cult of St Barbara and the cult of the Virgin to position Prussia itself as a place worthy of pilgrimage and crusade. In all of this he is appealing to a broad range of his contemporaries in terms to which they could relate and that they could understand. It is difficult, however, to measure the extent to which the *Chronicle of Prussia* in Jeroschin's version was successful in refocusing the chivalric, crusading ideal for Prussia. Although we know the text was popular and widely disseminated, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which its influence extended beyond the membership of the Order and reached 'all German people' (p. 305, l. 162) as specified in the introduction. The text's manuscript tradition links it exclusively to the Order's libraries. To date, there has been no research that attempts to identify links to the ideas in the chronicle with the pilgrims' own records of their trips. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that the intention of the chroniclers and their patrons was to create what Glenn Bowman has called a 'mythscape'. Writing about the texts written about pilgrimages to the Holy Land, he says:

> Texts [...] produced by a cultural elite and widely distributed throughout the stations of Christian civilisation had a considerable effect on how persons not of the hegemonic groups conceived of the holy places and their significance. I suggest that the various images of Jerusalem and the holy places proffered by these pilgrim narratives communicated the central values of powerful elites to a wider audience and in so doing helped to constitute a lexicon adopted by the popular imagination.[52]

It is likely that the ideas contained in the chronicle represented the 'mythscape' that the Order's leaders wished to present to a wider public, and that these ideas and texts were used as a source by preachers of the Prussian Crusade and by the Order's supporters.

The military orders inhabited and interpreted the space where the values of the religious life confronted those of the layman. They represented the fusion of the ideals of armed pilgrimage and spiritual service, and they and their apologists struggled to reconcile these values. Jeroschin uses the language of the mystics and the linguistic and metaphorical resources these suggested to revitalize the idea of Christian knighthood, taking the idea of chivalry back to its ideological roots. He co-opts the lexicon of pilgrimage in the service of armed pilgrimage in Prussia and uses the authority of the saints and biblical heroes to buttress its claim to authenticity. In his appeal to the knightly classes to join the crusade in Prussia, Jeroschin synthesizes the apparently opposing

[52] Bowman, 'Pilgrim Narratives of Jerusalem and the Holy Land', p. 150.

values of warfare and spiritual devotion and restates the ethos of the 'perfect Christian knight' in a language, and using images, which were familiar to his audience not just from the epics of the past, but from the religious experience of contemporary laymen. In so doing he reconnects concepts of 'nobility' and Chaucer's characteristics of 'chivalry, truth, honour, freedom and all courtesy' to their moral and specific religious content and renews them for the new crusading generation.

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Part III

Men and Women on the Move: Gendered Mobilities

Dangerous Travellers: Identity, Profession, and Gender Among the German Landsknechts (1450–1570)

Stefanie Rüther

It has long been established that late medieval warfare relied increasingly on paid warriors or mercenaries.[1] These mercenaries, we also know, often came from different regions or countries and had to range widely in search for employment, employment that comprised not only participation in battle, but also destabilizing supply chains and damaging morale and loyalties by ravaging and looting activities in enemy territories.[2] Mobility was, then, essential to the way of life of medieval mercenaries, but it also had significant implications for their social status.[3] The financial situation of mercenaries was usually precarious, and they were not able to rely upon a stable social environment. This precariousness and instability was aggravated by the fact that mercenaries were frequently foreigners in their areas of employment, without knowledge of

[1] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 90–101, 150–65; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, pp. 143–57; Nicholson, *Medival Warfare*, pp. 49–51.

[2] *Mercenaries and Paid Men*, ed. by France; Tresp, *Söldner aus Böhmen*; Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner im Italien des Trecento*.

[3] Thorau, 'Der (unwillkommene) Grenzgänger'; Grundmann, 'Rotten und Brabanzonen'.

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Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder, IMR 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 191–213
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local customs or respect for local people.[4] While travelling and during military campaigns, they were often forced to provide themselves with food by pillaging. Mercenaries were therefore commonly regarded as dangerous, and exposed to a long tradition of critique and contempt in which they were accused not just of pillage, but of wartime atrocities as serious as rape and murder.[5]

Alongside critiques of dangerous mercenaries, however, we also find indications that certain specific types of paid warriors were treated with particular respect. This was the case for the Italian *Condottiere* and the German *Landsknechte*, mercenaries sometimes regarded as particularly distinguished and valiant warriors.[6] In late medieval art and lyrics in particular, landsknechts were presented as strong and powerful men, wild and untamed.[7] These characteristics are suggested, for example, by the woodcut entitled 'Der Landsknecht' (Lucas Cranach the elder, 1505), which shows a German mercenary with colourful, slit, eye-catching clothing and the conspicuous codpiece or *braguette* (German *Hosenlatz*).[8] Cranach's woodcut and images like it have caused many historians to conclude that a highly sexually aggressive masculinity was an integral part of the self-understanding of late medieval mercenaries.[9]

However, this *prima facie* connection between masculinity, war, and violence should not be taken at face value. When we place it alongside other examples of contemporary descriptions of mercenaries and surviving evidence of their self-perceptions, we find that these rarely explicitly engage with masculinity. So how, then, did these mobile mercenaries define themselves in gendered and social terms, and how did that self-definition relate to the descriptions of contemporary observers? In this article, I approach the question through an investigation of the landsknechts, a specific group of German mercenaries, in the century between 1450 and 1570. By taking a closer look at different kinds of sources by and about landsknechts such as songs, autobiographical writings and woodcuts,

[4] Nicholson, *Medival Warfare*, p. 50; Duby, 'Krieg und Gesellschaft im Europa der Feudalzeit', pp. 148–52.

[5] France, 'Introduction'; Rüther, 'Die Gewalt der Anderen'.

[6] Lang, *Cosimo de' Medici, die Gesandten und die Condottieri*; Mallet, *Mercenaries and their Masters*; Baumann, *Landsknechte*.

[7] Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer*; Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*; Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*; Rogg, 'Wol auff mit mir, du schoenes weyb'.

[8] Compare Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, II, 596; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 39.

[9] Wolter, *Die Verpackung des männlichen Geschlechts*, pp. 57–70; Rogg, 'Zerhauen und zerschnitten, nach adeligen Sitten'; Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit*, pp. 77–79.

I ask how men who were travelling all over Europe during late medieval times to earn their living through war built up specific gendered images of themselves. Coming, for the most part, from an urban or rural background, the landsknechts had left their social stratum, either voluntarily or out of economic necessity, to become traveling men of war. Their mobility, I show, prevented landsknechts from conforming to what we might call normative models of masculinity based on local stability. In the songs of the landsknechts — one of the few source types left to us by the landsknechts themselves — this particular group of mercenaries can be seen to counter normative models for the appropriate conduct of life by celebrating the inversion of their rules and norms.[10] Through literary descriptions both of their everyday life and their practices of war, landsknechts convey a very different concept of masculinity.[11] Alongside the self-representations of landsknechts through song, moreover, I also examine the masculinities ascribed to them by contemporary observers.[12] Given that the image of the landsknecht functioned as a focal point for male identification and self-identification over many centuries and a broad geographical area, such a study has the potential to contribute significantly to our understanding of the relationships between masculinity, mobility and social status in the later Middle Ages.[13]

Becoming a Landsknecht: Backgrounds, Motivations, Identity

To understand why German men became landsknechts and how they perceived the occupation they had taken up, it is helpful to look at some of the surviving landsknecht songs. The song 'Ein schön Lied von der Kriegsleut Orden' ('A Pretty Song concerning the Order of Men in War', 1518) offers a clear explanation of the origin of the landsknechts:

> Gott gnad dem großmächtigen Kaiser frumme Maximilian!
> Bei dem ist aufkumme ein Orden

[10] Such songs were collected and edited in the middle of the sixteenth century, for example by Georg Forster, a physician and composer from Nuremberg: *Georg Forsters frische teutsche Liedlein*, ed. by Marriage.

[11] *Geschichte der Männlichkeiten*, ed. by Martschukat and Stieglitz; *Männer – Macht – Körper*, ed. by Dinges.

[12] Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*; Sikora, 'Söldner – historische Annäherung an einen Kriegertypen'; Thorau, 'Der (un)willkomene Grenzgänger'.

[13] Sprenger, *Landsknechte auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich?*; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, pp. 225–30.

> durchzeucht alle Land mit Pfeiffen und mit Trummen:
> Landsknecht sind sie genannt.[14]
>
> God grant mercy to the almighty honest Emperor Maximilian, with whom came up an order, travelling through the lands, with pipes and drums. Landsknechts they are called.

These lines, composed by the blinded landsknecht Jörg Graff, are commonly regarded as evidence that the landsknechts, emerging as a specific mercenary group around 1480, considered themselves an order on the same lines as the military religious orders.[15] With his song 'Ein new Lied wie die Landsknecht leben müssen' ('A New Song on How Landsknechts Should Live', 1530), landsknecht Hans Witzstat invited men to join the order and become free men of war.[16] In these songs, the landsknechts likened themselves to orders of knights and crusaders such as the Order of the Temple or the Knights Hospitaller.[17] In late medieval Europe, the idea of the military orders was connected to specific conceptions of corporate groups with certain rules, norms and values.[18] Above all, members of an order were perceived as relatively equal, as expressed in their address to one another as brothers. This same mode of address was common among the landsknechts.[19]

While the landsknechts may have aspired to an ideal of equal brotherhood, however, social historical research on landsknechts in northern and southern Germany has suggested that late medieval mercenary armies were not homogenous groups.[20] Rather, they were recruited from all social strata, ranging from nobles to townspeople to farmhands. Something of this range is suggested by a series of woodcuts produced between 1535 and 1540 by Niklas Stör, an art-

[14] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 9 (1). Translations are my own unless indicated.

[15] Götze, 'Jörg Graff'; Schade, 'Jörg Graff und Hans Witzstat'; Andersson, *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren*; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, pp. 115–17.

[16] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 19 (1): 'Nimm danach einen Orden an / und werd ein freier Kriegesmann' ('Join the order and became a free man of war'). On Hans Witzstat see Elschenbroich, *Deutsche Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, II, 1051.

[17] *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. by Fleckenstein and Hellmann; *Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, ed. by Kruse; Demurger, *Ritter des Herrn*.

[18] Sarnowsky, 'Die Statuten der geistlichen Ritterorden'.

[19] Baumann, *Söldnerwesen im 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 136–37.

[20] Baumann, *Söldnerwesen im 16 Jahrhundert*, pp. 49–65; Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, pp. 54–96.

ist from Nuremberg. Stör's woodcuts depict different kinds of craftsmen who had joined the troops of the landsknechts.[21] Above the images, short explanatory texts name the different trades and provide specific reasons as to why their practitioners choose the life of a landsknecht over that of a tailor or a shoemaker. Generally speaking, the craftsmen complain about the labours of their former work and point out the change in their life since being a mercenary.[22]

The captain and later poet Georg Niege provides an example of a very different type of recruit to the ranks of the landsknechts. Niege became a landsknecht after he finished his studies at the University of Marburg with a bachelor's degree.[23] In his autobiography, written in 1588, he explained his decision to join the landsknechts as prompted by the same motives that Niklas Stör ascribed to the craftsmen — lack of money and the desire for wealth:

> Wie mich die Armuth nu zu sehr
> gedruckt und worden vil zu schwer,
> bin ich gantz matt und mude worden,
> zu leben lenger in dem Orden.[24]

> When poverty oppressed me too much and became too bad, I tarnished and was tired of living in this fraternity furthermore.

However, once one entered the ranks of the landsknechts, one did not entirely leave behind all social stratifications. The chances for advancement were diverse. Georg Niege, for example, was able to profit from the skills he learned at university, gaining employment in 1547 as a scribe for colonel Cord Pennink.[25] Finally Niege made a military career as a captain.[26] Within the landsknechts, indeed, young noblemen and sons of patrician families could generally expect a better payment than the common foot soldiers and would often take a higher military office right from the beginning.[27] As a result of this, the different social status of the landsknechts was mirrored in their different payment, equipment and clothing.

[21] Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer*, pp. 260–63; Huntebrinker, *'Fromme Knechte' und 'Garteteufel'*, pp. 57–61; Röttinger, *Erhard Schön und Niklas Stör*.

[22] Compare Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, IV, 1316–21.

[23] Bei der Wieden, *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 45.

[24] Bei der Wieden, *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 45.

[25] Bei der Wieden, *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 54ff. For Cord Penninck see Beneke, 'Pennink, Cord'.

[26] Bei der Wieden, *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 95–97.

[27] Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte*, pp. 26–27.

It is worth adding a few words here with specific reference to clothing, as the landsknechts were known for certain distinctive features of their dress, which came to be associated with a landsknecht identity. I have alluded to the distinctive braguette or codpiece identified with the landsknechts above. As can be seen in a woodcut of three landsknechts produced by Georg Lemberger in 1515, the braguette was both a practical and a symbolic item of the landsknecht's dress.[28] Well-stuffed and made from conspicuous material, the braguette served for both protection and ostentation at the same time.[29] But the braguette was not the only distinctive feature of dress associated with landsknechts. Warlords who called upon the service of the landsknechts could rarely afford to spend money on clothing for mercenaries in addition to payment. Each mercenary, therefore, wore clothing and carried equipment of his own, very often acquired in haphazard fashion through plunder. As a consequence colourful diversity prevailed, and the wearing of shirts and pants slit and cut by war came to be seen as a distinctively landsknecht fashion.[30] This is emphasized in Lemberger's illustration. But the diversity of dress that characterized the landsknechts had symbolic value too. A sumptuary law in the *Reichspolizeiordnungen* (*Imperial Police Ordinances*) of 1530 permitted some men of war to dress themselves as they liked.[31] This privilege became an important element of the landsknechts' self-image as 'free men of war'.[32] It enabled them to distinguish themselves from townsmen and peasants who were still bound to the sumptuary laws of estates-based society.[33] It is important to note, however, that this right was granted only to higher ranks. Common mercenaries were barred by the same order from wearing slit and cut clothes.[34] As a result, distinctions in dress between landsknechts marked the inner hierarchy of the troops. The landsknechts did not, then, form quite the order of equals that their self-representation through

[28] Compare Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, III, 849; Reindl, 'Georg Lemberger. Ein Künstler der Reformationszeit', p. 65.

[29] Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 39; Wolter, *Die Verpackung des männlichen Geschlechts*, p. 65.

[30] Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 40; Rogg, 'Zerhauen und zerschnitten', pp. 114–17; Wolter, *Die Verpackung des männlichen Geschlechts*, p. 58; Dihle and Closs, 'Das Kriegstagebuch eines deutschen Landsknechts', pp. 5–6.

[31] *Die Reichspolizeiordnungen von 1530, 1548 und 1577*, ed. by Weber, p. 149.

[32] Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 40.

[33] Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, pp. 32–33; *Zwischen Sein und Schein*, ed. by Bulst and Jütte, pp. 1–112; Simon-Muscheid, 'Standesgemäße Kleidung'.

[34] *Die Reichspolizeiordnungen von 1530, 1548 und 1577*, ed. by Weber, p. 149.

song might suggest; on the contrary, there were some significant differences in the social status of individual mercenaries.

Mobility, Possessions, and Gendered Status

The high degree mobility among mercenaries who followed war from country to country to make their living collided with the expectations of the urban and rural societies regarding manly conduct in life.[35] Erasmus of Rotterdam reflects upon this problem in his *Colloquies*.[36] In the debate between *The Soldier and Carthusian*, first printed in 1523, the mercenary coming home from war is asked:

> [...] nunc quaeso ut mihi vicissim tui consilii rationem reddas, dicasque, ubi cessarint omnes boni medici, quum relicta domi uxore iuvencula et liberis, proficiscereris in militiam, vili salario conductus ad iugulandos homines, idque tui quoque capitis periculo.[37]
>
> Now I ask you in turn to explain yours and to tell me when all good doctors disappeared. You left a young wife and children at home and off you went to the army, hired for a trifling wage to cut men's throats, and that at risk of your own life.[38]

Since the mercenaries were permanently on the move, most of them could not take on the typical settled, civic male roles of leading and managing a household or of founding and feeding a family. Through settled, civic life, a male could access a number of male privileges and honours, ranging from control over the members of his household up to the right of citizenship. Lacking these opportunities to gain privileges, honours and rights, mobile mercenaries therefore lacked a number of the usual attributes of masculinity.[39] The travelling mercenaries reacted to these shortcomings in multiple ways. On the one hand, they adopted the models of identity of other groups of males that lived together unmarried and without a proper household, for example by, as we have seen, considering themselves as an order.[40] On the other, the landsknechts

[35] Buschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland*, p. 31.

[36] Erasmus, *Colloquies 1*, trans. by Thompson, pp. 328–43.

[37] Erasmus, 'Militis et Carthusiani', trans. by Welzig, p. 190.

[38] Erasmus, *Colloquies 1*, trans. by Thompson, p. 333.

[39] *Haus und Familie in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt*, ed. by Haverkamp; Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled.*

[40] Treiber, 'Geschlechtsspezifisches und andere Spannungsverhältnisse innerhalb der Kirche'.

sometimes addressed their lack of male honour connected to property and family by inverting usual values. Instead, they embraced an image that denied the values linked to the typically male roles of stable head of a household and husband, and even valorised their opposites.

The landsknechts' transformation of normative secular masculine values can be traced through a small number of landsknecht songs, handed down in the first half of the sixteenth century, which describe and idealize the mercenaries' lifestyle.[41] These songs present a range of recurring motifs that were important in the formation of the landsknechts' distinctive identity. From these songs, the most important characteristic of the landsknecht emerges as the necessity and willingness to travel around in search of payment. Jörg Graff underscored the importance for mercenaries of mobility in his song 'Ein schön Lied von der Kriegleut Orden', introduced earlier:

> Also muß er sich in dem Land umbkehren,
> bis er hört von Krieg und Feindschaft der Herren,
> darnach ist ihm kein Land zu weit,
> darein lauft er mit Ehren,
> bis er auch findt Bescheid.[42]

> He must tramp around the land, until he hears of hostilities between Lords. Then, there is no country so far that he will not hasten there in honour until he finds his calling.

According to the song, the landsknecht has to be willing to travel around in search of employment. Since itinerants in the late Middle Ages tended to be suspected of dishonour and deviant behaviour, it is significant that the song instead associates the landsknecht's travels with his honour.[43] Mobility, moreover, also necessarily restricted the mercenary to taking with him only select, portable goods. Some landsknecht songs indicate and even idealize this limited equipment. In Graff's 'Ein new Lied von dem Landsknecht auf den Stelzen' ('A New Song about the Landsknecht on Stilts'; around 1510), we learn:

> Der in den Krieg will ziehen, der soll gerüstet sein.
> Was soll er mit ihm führen? Ein schönes Fruwelein,

[41] Buchmann, *'Daz jemant singet oder sait …'*, pp. 241–50; Brunner, 'Das deutsche Lied im 16. Jahrhundert'.

[42] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 9 (4).

[43] Schubert, 'Mobilität ohne Chance'; Schubert, *Fahrendes Volk im Mittelalter*; Graus, 'Die Randständigen'.

ein langen Spieß, ein kurzer Degen.[44]

The one who goes to war, he should be armed, what shall he take with him? A beautiful maiden, a long pike and a short sword.

For men who earned their living from campaigning, good weapons were of course indispensable. In this song, however, a woman is also classed among the landsknecht's necessary arms, becoming one of his belongings. Graff's 'Ein schön Lied von der Kriegsleut Orden' even places the woman at the same level with the inevitable alcohol on the list a landsknecht's portable goods:

Erstlich muss er ein Weib und Flaschen haben
dabei ein Hund und einen Knaben
das Weib und Wein erfreut den Mann.[45]

In first place he has to have a wife and bottles, furthermore a dog and a boy because both wife and wine please the man.

In this extract, however, Graff goes one step further still in transforming normative secular, masculine values. In listing a boy and a dog as further essential companions for the landsknecht, Graff sketches a counter-model to that of the male head of a household or farm, with control over servants, maids and cattle.[46] Indeed, this normative model of the male head of a household and property-owner is the object of open derision in other landsknecht songs. Witzstat's 1530 song 'Ein new Lied wie die Landsknecht leben müssen' ('A New Song on How Landsknechts Should Live'), is a case in point. The song expresses contempt for the legitimate acquisition of goods and the transfer of possessions to the next generation through inheritance, as well as openly exhorting the destruction or pillage of others' property:[47]

Nimm dirs ein Mut dracht nit nach Gut,
las niemands von dir erben.
Kauf nichts ins Haus, dracht nur heraus,
tu Weib und Kind verderben![48]

[44] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 11 (1).

[45] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 9 (5).

[46] Rösener, 'Die bäuerliche Familie des Spätmittelalters'; *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by van Dülmen.

[47] Schuster, 'Die mittelalterliche Gesellschaft vom Eigentum her denken'.

[48] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 19 (1).

> Take your courage! Don't seek possessions. Let no-one inherit from you. Don't buy a house; just take from it. Ruin wife and children!

Graff's 'Ein schön Lied von der Kriegsleut Orden' makes clear that the landsknecht's companions, the boy and the dog who belong to his alternative, mobile 'household', have their roles to play in the landsknecht's appropriation of property: 'der knab und hund soll spüren, | was in dem Haus tut stan' ('boy and dog should detect what one can find in foreign houses').[49] Just like members of any farming or trading household, the boy and the dog must contribute through work to the landsknecht's 'household's subsistence.

In some landsknecht songs, the lack of respect for the possessions of others is extended to the landsknecht's own possessions; Graff's 'Ein schön Lied von der Kriegsleut Orden' suggests that it does not matter when the warlord fails to pay for the mercenary's services. Non-payment for services was a frequent problem for mercenaries and an omnipresent threat for the landsknechts.[50] Rather surprisingly, Graff's 'Ein new Lied von dem Landsknecht auf den Stelzen' suggests a reaction that almost makes a virtue of the landsknecht's financial uncertainty:

> Unt geit er uns dann kein Gelde,
> leit uns nit viel daran.
> So laufen wir durch die Welde,
> kein Hunger faßt uns nit an:
> Der Hühner, der Gäns haben wir so viel,
> das Wasser aus dem Brunnen
> trinkt der Landsknecht, wann er will.[51]

> And if he gives us no money, we do not care too much. When we are running through the world, no hunger reaches us; we have plenty of chickens and geese. The landsknecht drinks the water from the well whenever he wishes.

The song presents an ideal in which it is always easy for a landsknecht to provide for himself by pillaging or living off the land. Since chicken and geese were relatively easy to catch and transport, they became symbols of the practice of *garten* ('gardening'), which at that time meant feeding oneself from the coun-

[49] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 9 (5); Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer*, pp. 66–68; Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, pp. 253–54.

[50] Baumann, *Söldnerwesen im 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 117–19; Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, pp. 192–95.

[51] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 11 (2).

try by pillaging and plundering.[52] In 'Ein new Lied, wie die Landsknecht leben müssen', Witzstat recommended that the landsknechts should 'In Hungers Not schlag Hennen tot | und laß kein Gans mehr leben!' ('in times of famine beat the chicken to death and let no goose live').[53] Indeed, the same song draws together into an order all the possessions requisite for the mobile landsknecht's practice of his profession and his masculinity:

> Ein schön Fraw must haben,
> ein Knaben, ein Hund und ein Hahn:
> so bistu gerüßt wie ein Kriegsmann,
> gut Rüstung sollst tragen, Harnisch und Banzerkragen.[54]

You need a beautiful woman, a boy, a dog and a cock, and then you are armed as a man of war. You should wear good amour, cuirass and an iron collar.

In a number of landsknecht songs recorded in the early sixteenth-century, then, possessions, animals, and fellow-human beings function as status-symbols for men of war. These symbols, moreover, contribute to the construction of a specific model of peripatetic masculinity, a model that is opposed to other conventional, secular male lifestyles, whether that of the merchant, craftsman, farmer, or head of a settled household.[55]

Landsknechts and Women: Sexuality and Relationships

As we have seen from the references to women in the landsknecht songs discussed so far, landsknecht masculine identity was shaped not just by ideals related to mobility, but by notions of male sexuality. The 'dangerousness' of the landsknecht, indeed, was closely associated with his sexuality. The regulations to which the landsknechts had to submit when they entered service repeatedly banned the rape of nuns and virgins, though it is unclear whether this was an attempt to control actual practice, a reflection of contemporary perceptions of the landsknechts (by themselves or their leaders) or a combination of the two.[56] It is certainly true that many song lyrics openly idealize adultery

[52] Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, p. 277.

[53] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 19 (2).

[54] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 19 (5).

[55] Füssel, 'Der Wert der Dinge'.

[56] Several examples given by Beck, *Die aeltesten Artikelsbriefe für das deutsche Fußvolk*, pp. 47, 69, 73.

and promiscuity among mercenaries. 'Der Landsknecht und die Wirtin' ('The Landsknecht and the Landlady'), a song by an unknown composer that dates to about 1530, speaks of a landsknecht of no means, lodged by a married landlady, who has ready access to her bed. 'Ich weiß nicht, was er ihr verhieß' ('I don't know what he promised her'), the lyric goes, 'daß sie den Riegel dannen stieß' ('so that she opened the lock-bar)'.[57] The lock bar here is a metaphor for the chastity of the landlady who took the landsknecht into her bed. The song — which is of course an idealization of the landsknecht's lifestyle — suggests that, irrespective of their lack of economic means and inability to provide for a family, the mercenaries were considered attractive sexual partners by women. In 'Der Landsknecht und die Wirtin', the notion of a 'one night stand' without consequences also functions as a counter-image to that of the lifelong bond between the sexes that constituted the normative ideal of marriage.

The references in songs discussed thus far to women as important constitutive elements in a mercenary's equipment make it clear that the travelling landsknechts did not consider their company an exclusively male community. In fact, we should assume that a large number of women were part of the baggage train that followed the mercenaries with their campaigns.[58] A war statute of Michael Ott von Echterdingen and Jacob Preuß, printed in 1535, gives an impression of how relations between the sexes were organized in the camp.[59] Under the column 'Nun folgen hernach die Weibspersonen so in einer yeden besatzung von noeten seindt' ('female persons necessary in every siege army'), the statute states that besides needlewomen and nurses there should be 'zwo oder drei frawen [...] die yederemans weyb seindt' ('two or three women being wife to everyone').[60] These women were considered common women, which meant that no one in the camp was allowed to enter into an exclusive relationship with them.[61] For this reason, they were under the protection of the high command and received a contractual payment.

[57] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 18 (5).

[58] Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, pp. 241–45; Kroener, '"...und ist der jammer nit zu beschreiben".

[59] Michael Ott von Echterdingen was Master of the armoury at the court of Emperor Maximilian. Together with his lieutenant Jacob Preuss he worked out a new statute to reorganize the imperial troops: Jegel, 'Ein früher Vorläufer des Lazarus Schwendi'.

[60] Michael Ott, *Kriegs ordnung new gemacht*, b2^{r}–b2^{v}; see Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 156.

[61] Lynn, *Women, Armies and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 68–70.

In addition to impersonal relations between landsknechts and prostitutes — relations prominently represented in printed images of the period — relationships of a matrimonial or similar nature also appear to have been common among landsknechts.[62] Songs of the period suggest, however, an expectation that the kinds of matrimonial arrangements found in urban and rural spheres would be adapted to suit that landsknecht's mobile lifestyle.[63] Lyrics printed in a broadsheet of around 1530 suggest a partnership of divided labour, clearly distinguishing the two genders' different spheres of duty:

> Wol auff mit mir du schoenes weyb
> Mitt mir bey den lantzknechten bleyb
> den mustu zwahen hemmat (Hemden) waschen
> und mir nach tragen sack vn flaschen.
> Vnd wo ich mag erlangen preyß
> Das must behalten du mit fleyß
> Wan wird dan kommen von dem hauffen
> Das wir die pewt (Beute) moegen verkauffen.[64]

> Come with me, beautiful women! Stay with me along with the landsknechts. Then you shall wash two shirts every day and carry my bag and bottles. And when I get booty, you must keep it diligently. And when we leave the troops, we may sell the booty.

These lyrics envisage one of the main purposes of the relationship between a landsknecht and female companion as material enrichment, just as was the case in partnerships between settled couples. However, this enrichment was not to be founded on common work, but rather on the legal or illegal acquisition of booty, which could be sold at a profit after the war.

Historical sources, however, suggest a rather more complex situation than that presented in the landsknechts' songs. Landsknechts of differing social standing created quite different relationships with women. Higher ranking and wealthier landsknechts were often married and had children; their families usually stayed at home while they went on raids. Captain Georg Niege earned sufficient money through his mercenary activities to enable him to get married. Following his marriage, his wife, Katharina, accompanied him on his 1563 campaign as part of the Northern Seven Years War against

[62] For more examples see Rogg, *Landsknecht und Reisläufer*, pp. 59–65.

[63] Wunder, *Er ist die Sonn, sie ist der Mond*, pp. 120–38.

[64] Quotation taken from Rogg, 'Wol auff mit mir', pp. 58–60.

Sweden.[65] Only when she became pregnant in 1565 did she leave the camp and return to Germany.[66]

The statute of war of Ott and Preuß of 1535 prohibited married men like Niege from sexual contact with common prostitutes, but some landsknechts, of course, overstepped such boundaries.[67] Urs Graf, a landsknecht who produced a number of significant images of late medieval mercenaries, married a daughter of an upper class family from Basel in 1511. Besides working as a goldsmith, Graf participated in several military campaigns between 1510 and 1521. By 1520, he was wealthy enough to buy the house in which his wife, son and a goldsmith assistant were already living.[68] Although Graf normally led a settled life, he nonetheless seems to have displayed some of the more dangerous behaviours considered characteristic of the landsknechts. Repeatedly in conflict with the law, in November 1523 he was punished with a prison sentence of several days on account of his frequent fornication, adultery and violent behaviour towards his wife.[69] Graf's lifestyle, then, combines elements of the mobile, mercenary landsknecht lifestyle with elements of a more settled, civic mode of living. Likewise, his relationships with and behaviours towards women suggest a combination of the civic, settled model of masculinity with elements of the libidinous, unsettled gendered identity of the landsknecht.

War as Profession: The Landsknecht and Violence

I have discussed above how the landsknechts often enjoyed a contemporary reputation for untamed behaviour and violence. However, it is important to point out that landsknecht songs often manipulate this image, presenting an alternative masculine ideal in which the mercenaries are professional soldiers with their own moral code. Landsknecht songs present the waging of war, fighting and even pillaging as honourable work and as true war-craft. Thus we find that in landsknechts' self-representations, they are often referred to as 'fromme Landsknechte' ('upright landsknechts'). The term 'fromm' not only suggested

[65] Bei der Wieden, *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 94.

[66] Bei der Wieden, *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 97.

[67] Michael Ott, *Kriegs ordnung new gemacht*, b2^{v}.

[68] Andersson, *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren*, pp. 8–9.

[69] Andersson, *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren*, p. 8; Staatsarchiv Basel, Ratsbücher O2, Urfehdenbuch, fol. 328^{v}: <http://.stabs.ch/view/2010/Ratsbuecher_O_2/#338> [accessed 29 September 2014].

piety, but also implied adherence to a whole range of values, such as bravery, faith, and honesty. The song 'Ein schön Lied von der Kriegsleut Orden' sets out that the correct conduct of war has to be learned, and stresses its orderly nature: 'Darumb so tut ihm Lernens not, | wie man mit langen Spießen Processiones hat' ('therefore they [the landsknechts] need to learn how to have processions with long pikes').[70] Through the translation of the practices of warfare into the vocabulary of the religious orders, the strict order and discipline of the landsknechts is emphasized.[71] This becomes evident within the next strophe of the same song:

> Wenn sie dann ihr Capitel wöllen halte,
> mit Spieß und Hellebarten sicht man s'balde,
> zum Fähnlein in der Ordnung stat.[72]

When they then want to hold their chapter, you soon see them standing, with pikes and halberds, in orderly fashion under their banner.

As well as presenting the individual landsknecht as belonging to an order, however, the songs also idealize the free and lucrative nature of the soldier's employment, which compares favourably with that of the hired labourer, such as the farmhand. The anonymous composer of the landsknecht song 'Von dem König aus Frankreich' ('Concerning the King of France') was probably a member of the so called 'Black Band', which joined the French troops in 1515 and fought in the Battle of Pavia 1525 against the imperial landsknechts.[73] The song lists the advantages of the free life of the landsknechts when compared with that of the peasant:

> Beim Bawren muss ich dreschen,
> muss essen sawre Milch,
> beim König trag ich volle Fläschen
> beim Bawren ein groben Zwilch.
> Beim König tret ich ganz tapfer ins Feld
> und zieh daher als ein freier Held,
> zerhawen und zerschnitten
> nach adelischen Sitten.[74]

[70] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 9 (7).

[71] Baumann, *Georg von Frundsberg*, pp. 131–34.

[72] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 9 (8).

[73] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 12; Baumann, *Georg von Frundsberg*, pp. 214–17; Baumann, *Söldnerwesen im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 82.

[74] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 12 (3).

> With the peasant I must thresh and eat sour milk; with the king I bear full bottles. With the peasant I wear chunky thread; with the king I step boldly into the field, and therefore go forward as a free hero [in clothing] slit and cut in the noble manner.

Indeed, military leaders capitalized on this free, bold, masculine identity to motivate their troops; the German Emperor Maximilian in 1516 addressed his landsknechts as 'lobsamen, starken, Manlichen teutschen' ('laudable, strong, manly Germans').[75]

While the landsknecht songs suggest an understanding that the waging of war was a profession that had to be learned, it is remarkable that the actual practice of violence against others is rarely mentioned. The violence that accompanied mercenary practices of pillaging and plundering is not mentioned in the songs, and the unavoidable necessity of killing in the battle is never reflected on or problematized. In the songs, it is almost exclusively the mercenaries themselves who are represented as the victims of military violence. The landsknecht speakers represent themselves as more or less indifferent towards the dangers of death and wounding, as the 'new Lied von dem Landsknecht auf Stelzen' illustrates.[76] The first-person narrator states that if his arm were shot, there would be nobody to whom he could complain. But the narrator then pointedly suggests that the appropriate landsknecht response would be not self-pity, but bravado; he would not care a straw for the injury. Instead, the landsknecht speaker boasts that he would be able to spend extravagantly what Swiss mercenaries — competitors of the landsknechts on the market of violence — were obliged to spend on gloves. The violence and danger of harm that accompanied the landsknechts on their travels across Europe were, then, so thoroughly integrated into their self-image that their self-representations both ignore its consequences for their victims and make light of the consequences for themselves.

Conclusion

The model of masculinity promoted by the landsknechts with regard to their possessions, their relationships with women, and their relation to their professional role, was founded to a large extent on the demands of a mobile life and the common practices of late medieval warfare. Most warlords could not guar-

[75] 'Georg Kirchmair's Denkwürdigkeiten seiner Zeit (1519–1553)', p. 437; compare Baumann, *Georg von Frundsberg*, p. 131.

[76] *Der Schwartenhals*, ed. by Meinhardt, p. 11.

antee the supply of their relatively large troops on a regular basis. Plundering became a necessity and part of a mode of warfare aimed at inflicting lasting damage on enemy territories. Even the regular distribution of a contractual payment could not be guaranteed by the noble warlords. For this reason, the economic situation of mercenaries was typically fragile. The landsknecht songs suggest that the mercenaries responded by creating an idealized image of this way of living, and a free, unbound gendered identity. In so doing, they constructed a set of values that were in many ways contrary to the values and norms of the stratified society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In response to this, critics, especially among the humanists, developed a wide-ranging critique of the landsknechts' lifestyle that related to the mercenaries' constructed identity, as demonstrated in their songs and biographies, in a remarkably close way. For instance, in his pacifist tract of 1539, the *Kriegsbüchlin des Friedens*, Sebastian Franck terms the landsknechts a 'neuer Orden der seellosen Leute' ('new order of soulless people') who hasten wherever they hope to make money, without regard towards honour and justice.[77] Mobility, as in the songs of the landsknechts, is identified by Franck as both the cause and the signal of their deviant way of life:

> Sie laufen von alten, armen, kranken Eltern, verlassen ihre braven Weiber und unerzogenen lieben Kindlein, ihr süßes Vaterland und beschworenen Dienst – auch ihre Arbeitspflicht.
>
> They flee from their old, poor and sick parents, leave their good wives and uneducated lovely children, their sweet home country and also their duty to work.[78]

Franck suggests that the criminal and violent actions ascribed to the landsknechts are not expressions of an innate aggressive masculinity. Rather 'sie lernen und gewöhnen alle Unzucht in Schelten, Schwören, Schandworten, Fluchen' ('they learn and accustom themselves to all deviant behaviour such as cursing, swearing, railing and anathematizing').[79] In Franck's interpretation, 'Hurerei, Ehebruch, Jungfrauenschwächung, Völlerei, Zusaufen' ('whoring, adultery, disgracing maidens, gluttony, binge drinking') are not markers of male identity, but are learned by the landsknechts when they first take up their

[77] Sebastian Franck, 'Das Kriegsbüchlin des Friedes', ed. by Wollgast, pp. 235ff.; compare Baumann, *Söldnerwesen im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 138.

[78] Sebastian Franck, 'Das Kriegsbüchlin des Friedes', ed. by Wollgast, p. 236.

[79] Sebastian Franck, 'Das Kriegsbüchlin des Friedes', ed. by Wollgast, p. 235.

profession.[80] Moreover, Franck observes, the landsknechts 'sind überredet worden, Kriegen sei nit Sünde, sondern recht, wie ein anderes Handwerk um Geld zu treiben' ('are convinced that war is not sin, but right, as pursuing any other craft for money').[81] Both in the eyes of the landsknechts and their critics, then, the violent actions of the mercenaries tend to be presented less as expressions of an inherent, aggressive masculinity than as learned behaviour.

Landsknecht identity challenged existing models of gendered identity in a twofold way. On the one hand, the Landsknechts were distanced by their mobility from the expectations traditionally placed upon secular men. At the same time, they created an idealized image of a free man of war as an alternative male role model, which, as their contemporary critics suggested, challenged the gender order not just in times of war, but in times of peace. For Franck

> Auch andere werden gereizt durch sie zu Müßigkeit, spielen, saufen, huren und also fügen sie ihrem eigene Vaterland durch böse Sitten mehr Schaden zu, denn vorher den Feinden durch unbillige Kriege.[82]
>
> Thus they stimulate others to indulge in idleness, gaming, drinking and whoring. And therefore they do much more harm to their own country with their bad habits than they did before against the enemy with their iniquitous wars.

[80] Sebastian Franck, 'Das Kriegsbüchlin des Friedes', ed. by Wollgast, pp. 235–36; compare Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 120.

[81] Sebastian Franck, 'Das Kriegsbüchlin des Friedes', ed. by Wollgast, p. 247.

[82] Sebastian Franck, 'Das Kriegsbüchlin des Friedes', ed. by Wollgast, p. 236.

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On the Road Again: The Semi-Nomadic Career of Yolande of Aragon (1400–1439)

Zita Rohr

This article does not examine the minutiae of Yolande of Aragon's individual travels in the service of her marital house, and it is not another in a series of 'travels with a medieval queen': part history, part travelogue, part imagined discourse with a long defunct protagonist.[1] Such endeavours, while compelling from cultural, social history, and sociological standpoints, do not highlight the important political and geo-political imperatives so characteristic of the region, time, and context under examination here.[2] Instead this article concerns itself with the need for and the extent of such travel, focusing upon the proposition that, because of the scope and nature of the territorial aspirations of her marital house of Anjou and its many parallels with her natal house of Aragon, Yolande and her husband, Louis II of Anjou, practised, in a

[1] Simeti, *Travels with a Medieval Queen*, and Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*.

[2] Meticulous studies into the logistics of medieval itinerancy shed great light upon the nuts and bolts of roaming medieval armies, royal courts, etc. For example, see Haldon, 'Introduction'.

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Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder, IMR 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 215–244
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.5.105548

non-Iberian context, an Iberian model of itinerant kingship which persisted well into the late medieval and early modern period. To be effective, this strategy was reinforced by a specifically Aragonese template of queenship, identified by Theresa Earenfight and examined below.

Yolande of Aragon was the only surviving child of the marriage of Joan I, King of Aragon and his second wife, Violant of Bar. Claire Ponsich confirms that Yolande's mother continually took to the road, practising an itinerant form of co-government with her husband, Joan. Violant's numerous journeys between 1380 and 1431 are well documented in the Aragon Crown Archives (with the dates and places of her activities accurately recorded), revealing the movements of her court, the multiplicity of her palaces, chancelleries, councils, and residences, affirming the politico-social function of regal voyages, and the continual demonstration of Aragon's effective exercise of power.[3] The evidence preserved in Violant of Bar's extensive extant correspondence verifies her dynamic travels and fleshes out the published itineraries of her husband and her brother-in-law, Joan's successor, Martí I.[4] Violant's daughter, Yolande of Aragon, was an intelligent and talented strategist as well as an experienced politician and diplomat, and she owed many of these qualities to her upbringing at her parents' and uncle's courts.

'Viatores Reges': The Imperative for the Late Medieval Itinerancy of Iberian Kings and Queens

Royal and princely itinerancy is an ever-present theme in medieval research, but not, speaking generally, one that takes centre stage. When it is mentioned, it is usually in the context of earlier periods such as the Carolingian, Ottonian, or first Plantagenet dynasties.[5] These earlier emergent dynasties relied upon royal itinerancy for control over dispersed territories, compensating for weak

[3] Ponsich, 'Des dames sur les routes'. Violant of Bar's official lieutenancy documents are included in registers held in Barcelona, Arxiu General de la Corona d'Aragó, *Cancelleria* (C) reg. 2029–36, cited by Earenfight, 'Absent Kings', p. 34, n. 6. Other papers, household accounts and Violant's copious, far-ranging correspondence (both personal and official) are contained in some forty-five volumes held in the Arxiu General de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1815–24, 2027, and 2029–62.

[4] Violant's documents remain for the most part unpublished; cf. Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*; *Itinerari de l'infant En Joan, primogènit del rei En Pere III*, ed. by Llagostera; *Itinerari del rei en Joan I*, ed. by Llagostera; and *Itinerari del rey En Martí*, ed. by Llagostera.

[5] Lainé, 'Introduction, Itinérance des cours', p. 2.

administrative methods, rudimentary governance and scant use of written communication.[6] In discussing German states, and those of England and France, Werner Paravicini remarks that at the end of the Middle Ages, 'the itinerant exercise of power evolved towards power centred upon a "seat": a permanent royal residence, a capital or a centre of administration.'[7] It is the *late persistence* of itinerant Iberian kingship that strikes a chord because it was neither a product of weak administrative practice nor indeed flawed and antiquated institutions of government. While such a model is inevitably qualified by the diversity of Spanish kingdoms, its durability and its commonality stands out as a defining feature when compared to royal courts in northern and central Europe during the late medieval period.[8] While Malcolm Vale makes the point that courts in north-west Europe continued to itinerate beyond the later Capetians, I would refine his assertion by observing that this was not for the distinct purpose of governing and enforcing authority across dispersed territories and diverse cultures, as was clearly the case for Aragon-Valencia and for Anjou-Valois. [9]

A recent symposium, *L'itinérance des cours (fin XII^e s.–milieu XV^e s.)*, posed the question: 'Was later medieval itinerancy an Iberian archetype?' The 'ERPI' medievalists proposed the thesis that the late medieval expression of this earlier phenomenon was an Iberian particularity, and that this Iberian 'particularity' of *gobierno presencial* (face-to-face government), while a transitional phenomenon, persisted until the relatively late elevation of Madrid as the capital.[10] In Iberia, regnal itinerancy, monarchs as 'viatores reges' ('passing kings' or, for

[6] Lainé, 'Introduction, Itinérance des cours', p. 2.

[7] Paravicini, 'Cours et residences du Moyen Âge tardif', pp. 329–31, cited by Lainé, 'Introduction, Itinérance des cours', p. 2.

[8] Nieto Soria, 'Conclusiones'; cf. Beauchamp, 'Gouverner en Chemin' for the itinerancy Pere III of Aragon. For a comparison with non-Iberian royal courts and the fact that for most kingdoms royal itinerancy as a primary feature of governance had fallen away by the central Middle Ages see Hollister and Balwin, 'The Rise of Administrative Kingship'; Christelow, 'A Moveable Feast'; Leyser, 'Ottonian Government'; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany c. 936–1075*; *Histoire comparée de l'administration*, ed. by Paravicini and Werner; Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, particularly Chapter 2, 'Les buts de l'Etat: la justice et les finances', especially the sections 'L'administration centrale' and 'La naissance ses capitales', pp. 181–204, and Autrand, *Histoire de la fonction publique en France*, I, 314.

[9] Vale, *The Princely Court*, especially Chapter 4 'The Travelling Court', pp. 136–62.

[10] *L'itinérance des cours (fin XII^e s.–milieu XV^e s.)*, held in the conference centre of the Maison des Pays Ibériques in Bordeaux, 17–18 November 2008. 'ERPI': Equipe de Recherche sur la Péninsule Ibérique, Université de Bordeaux 3 – Michel de Montaigne. Felipe II of Spain,

our purposes, 'kings of the road') endured despite the fact that Aragon, for example, had substantial centralized and well-established governance, administrative, and accounting structures. The pinnacle of Aragonese administrative reform occurred largely during the busy and authoritarian reign of Yolande of Aragon's grandfather, Pere III.[11] An efficient and centralized bureaucracy gave Pere the necessary control to exploit his sovereign authority, codifying binding statutes governing the actions of court officials.[12] Notwithstanding this, Pere's itinerancy was necessary to address the extent and diversity of his far-flung territories. It enforced his authority over new possessions and underwrote his expansionist vision for Aragon. His entire reign was pre-occupied with strengthening the Crown against the near-constant revolts of his nobility, and with his foreign conflicts and conquests.[13] From 1377 the second house of Anjou had started to gather together titles and deeds held in the castle of Angers under the auspices of its *Chambre des Comptes d'Anjou*. In 1380, at the request of Louis I of Anjou, this function was enhanced to include interesting bits and pieces of documentation and memoranda pertaining to his expanding diverse and distant holdings.[14]

Sharing her grandfather Pere's disposition for codified and pragmatic administration, Yolande of Aragon built upon her father-in-law Louis I's initiative. Yolande directed her *Chambre des Comptes* to complete the job of archiving all documentation relating to the holdings and prerogatives of the second house of Anjou. This archive was organized further under the auspices of a 'Chambre dite du Trésor' and it contained charters, authorizations, an enumeration of fiefs held by Anjou, homages, taxable quotas and rents, as well as

great-grandson of the Catholic monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand, moved his court to Madrid in about 1561.

[11] I refer to Yolande's paternal grandfather as Pere III of Aragon. He is named variously as Peter/Pere/Pedro/Pero III of Catalonia-Aragon (Pere in Catalan, Pedro in Castilian and Pero in Aragonese); Peter/Pedro/Pero IV of Aragon and Peter/Pedro II of Valencia.

[12] VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, pp. 6–9; cf. Beauchamp, 'Ordonnances et réformes de l'Hôtel royal au début du règne de Pierre IV d'Aragon', pp. 555–73, and *Ordinacions de la casa I cort de Pere el Cerimoniós* ed. by Gimeno Blay and others.

[13] Rodríguez-Picavea, 'The Frontier and Royal Power in Medieval Spain', p. 291 and Guinot, 'La creació de les senyories en una societat feudal de frontera', pp. 90–91. Both cited by Barton, 'Lords, Settlers and Shifting Frontiers in Medieval Catalonia', pp. 249–50; cf. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon*, pp. 100–32 and Tasis i Marca, *Pere el Ceremoniós I els seus Fills*, pp. 3–136.

[14] Le Mené, 'La Chambre des Comptes d'Anjou et les libéralités princières', p. 45.

other important rights, deeds, and titles; systematically itemized, classified and arranged in purpose-designed cabinets.[15] Yolande of Aragon made it her priority to classify pragmatically and arrange her Angevin archive, and it had much in common with the Aragon Crown Archives model elaborated by her grandfather Pere III. Yolande's initiative was designed to render efficient the itinerant nature of her style of a coherent *gobierno presencial* and to document and classify diverse and dispersed Angevin holdings.

An Iberian monarch's itinerancy responded to the need for the royal presence (or the king's words) to ensure territorial control. The semi-nomadism of the king and his court from one end of his domains to the other remained the rule, with much of this itinerancy practised to ensure control over Sicily-Naples, and to guarantee an uninterrupted flow of fiscal resources into the royal treasury.[16] Like the kings of Aragon in Sicily-Naples, the second house of Anjou had restricted power and fiscal resources at its disposal. It therefore needed regularly to fall back upon its presence to convince its subjects to support costly military enterprises.[17] The requirements of its strategy of *gobierno presencial* meant that the princes and princesses of the second house of Anjou had to be on the road more often than their northern peers.

Iberian Queenship: For the Good of the 'Firm'

Earenfight has this to say about the Iberian model of queenship:

> Unlike northern queens [...] Spanish royal women were more likely to be active in the governance of the realm. They exercised considerable legitimate authority, more often, more publicly, and more directly than queens elsewhere in Europe.[18]

They were political partners in the truest sense and, when the other half of the partnership was absent or died, many ruled independently. Earenfight refines her initial comment by stating that:

> [...] the fact that there was no explicit legal prohibition of a queen's right to act openly in the political sphere left open a loop-hole in the institutional structure of

[15] Le Mené, 'La Chambre des Comptes d'Anjou et les libéralités princières', p. 45.

[16] Lainé, 'Introduction, Itinérance des cours', p. 2.

[17] Péquignot, 'Introduction', p. 4; cf. Hébert, 'Le théâtre de l'Etat'.

[18] Earenfight 'Partners in Politics', pp. xiii–xiv.

> both the Castilian and the Aragonese monarchy that resulted in a series of powerful queen-regents and queen-lieutenants.[19]

In describing the case of María of Castile, consort of Alfonso V of Aragon, Earenfight confirms that the essential particularity of Aragonese queen-lieutenancy resides in its institutionalization, range and complexity:

> Her [María's] political authority is striking because of its wide scope and long duration. Its distinctive institutional character was unusual outside the Crown of Aragon, but the fact that she governed was not.[20]

Earenfight invites us to examine the case of seven queens who married kings of Aragon. Most of these women were foreign-born, and some had limited fluency in Catalan. This, however, did not impede them in the least for 'they were far from silent, hardly powerless, and certainly not absent from the political sphere' indeed, 'it was the kings who were absent'. These women might not have ruled but, in the absence of the king, they governed with full executive authority. In other parts of Europe the office of lieutenant was held generally by men, 'but in the Crown of Aragon seven queens-consort governed, sometimes for long periods of time, with fully sanctioned *de jure* and *de facto* authority'.[21] The seven 'portfolio holding' queens to whom Earenfight refers are Blanca of Naples, wife of Jaume II; Teresa d'Entença, wife of Alfonso III; Violant of Bar, third wife of Joan I; María de Luna, first wife of Martí I; Margarida of Prades, second wife of Martí I; María of Castile, wife of Alfonso V; and Juana Enríquez, second wife of Juan II. To Earenfight's list of seven, I would add Elionor of Sicily, third wife of Pere III.[22]

Yolande of Aragon was an Iberian princess, schooled in and influenced by Aragon's practices of queenship, but her actions in the interests of her marital house do not fit neatly into an Iberian model, still less into the very particular

[19] Earenfight 'Partners in Politics', p. xxiv.

[20] Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince', p. 5.

[21] Earenfight, 'Absent Kings', pp. 33–35 and Segura Graíño, 'Participacion de las mujeres en el poder politico'. For Elionor of Sicily, see Silleras-Fernández, *Power, Piety and Patronage in Late-Medieval Queenship*, pp. 6–7 passim and Sans Riera, 'La Coronació de la Reina Elionor (1352)' and Deibel, 'La reyna Elionor de Sicilia'. This volume also contains biographies of Sibil. la de Fortià, 'La reyna empordanesa', mistress, later fourth wife, of Pere III (Roca), pp. 9–212 and María of Castile, queen consort of Alfonso V (Soldevila), pp. 213–345.

[22] Three of these queens were close kinswomen of Yolande of Aragon: Elionor of Sicily was her paternal grandmother, Violant of Bar was her mother and María de Luna was her aunt by marriage.

institutionalized model of Aragonese queen-lieutenancy. Yolande acted within the confines of French late medieval queenship conventions, ones held to be less liberal and more restrictive than those in Iberia.[23] This is not to suggest, however, that French queens were uniformly docile and submissive. Politically active French queens and princesses had to be astute, flexible, cautious, and diplomatic.[24] Such qualities were Yolande of Aragon's greatest strengths, and it is true to observe that, in the case of Yolande, operating outside (and sometimes beyond) the full glare of political authority held not insubstantial advantage.

More generally, medieval monarchs did not exist nor did they function in a vacuum. The most successful model of sovereignty was corporate and composite rather than autocratic and solitary: effective kings simply did not rule alone.[25] For Earenfight, '[q]ueens supported kings through an array of services', and 'could step into institutional gaps and govern as regent or lieutenant'.[26] Such activity supported the family 'commonwealth' of the ruling dynasty, de-gendering the practice (if not the theory) of rulership: a distinct model of governance and one that should be examined as a partnership. This is no more the case than in Iberia where 'medieval Spanish kings and queens were co-operators, superb practitioners of a pragmatic form of power and authority who simply assumed the task and set to work with as little fuss as possible'.[27] They just got on with the job.

Great Expectations: The Second House of Anjou

Having glanced at Yolande of Aragon's natal influences and imperatives, it is time to look at how and why these influences and imperatives were called upon and adapted to the tangled circumstances and aspirations of the second house of Anjou. Yolande of Aragon was married to Louis II of Anjou, titular King of Jerusalem-Sicily (Naples) and Cyprus, Duke of Anjou, Count of Maine,

[23] Taylor, 'The Salic Law, French Queenship and the Defence of Women';Cosandey, *La reine de France*; Cosandey, 'La loi salique et la construction d'un espace public pour les femmes'; Cosandey, 'Les femmes en monarchie'; Cosandey, 'Puissance maternelle et pouvoir politique'; and Cosandey, 'De la loi salique à la régence'.

[24] *Femmes de pouvoir et pouvoir des femmes dans l'Occident médiéval et moderne*, ed. by Nayt-Dubois and others, and *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance*, ed. by Eric Bousmar and others.

[25] Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince', p. 9.

[26] Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince', p. 12.

[27] Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince', p. 12.

Provence, and Forcalquier, in yet another attempt to reconcile the dispute over Sicily-Naples between Aragon and the upstart second house of Anjou. Under the terms of the agreement, Aragon retained sovereignty over the island Kingdom of Sicily, allowing the house of Anjou-Valois a free hand to conquer its titular realm of peninsular Naples. That was the plan. The reality, however, was far more complicated. Sicily-Naples did not just represent powerful geopolitical potential to both Anjou-Valois and Aragon. Nor did its attraction lie in the fact that merchants had created complex trade networks and routes linking Sicily to Spain, northern Africa, and other Mediterranean islands, which brought prosperity and steady supplies of essential foodstuffs and luxury consumables to eager domestic markets. The region's true potency lay in its establishment as a field of competition and co-operation for merchants, professionals, tradesmen, craftsmen, artists, and scholars originating from Florence, Genoa, Catalonia, Messina, Amalfi, Bari, and other distant and exotic places.[28] Had political conflict not been a constant backdrop, the region might have experienced an authentic flowering of a *pax mediterrana*, a medieval globalization built upon outward-looking trade, intellectual, and cultural exchange.[29] As it stood, however, the western Mediterranean became a battleground for the rival dynasties of Anjou and Aragon.

The second house of Anjou was characterized by 'ferocious ambition, dreams of expansion, conquest and re-conquest'.[30] Its territories and pretensions were vast: it held the titular kingship to Naples-Sicily, Cyprus, and Jerusalem; its princes were counts of Provence-Forcalquier, dukes of Anjou, and counts of Maine. From 1419 Yolande of Aragon's interests stretched to the duchies of Bar-Lorraine in the eastern reaches of France, deep into hostile regions held by the dukes of Burgundy and their allies. In 1411 Yolande voiced her un-extinguished rights to succession in Aragon for the benefit of her eldest son, Louis III, adding the arms of Hungary to those of Anjou in 1435.[31] Angevin aspirations encompassed the Balkans, Guelphic cities, and lordships in north and central Italy and Jerusalem.[32] Added to this ambitious project

[28] Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200–1500*, pp. 259–60.

[29] Yoon, 'Roads to Globalization, Over Lands, Seas and Times'.

[30] Robin, 'Conclusion', p. 311. My paraphrasing.

[31] Giovanna II of Naples willed her rights and pretensions to the throne of Hungary to Yolande's second son. René of Anjou received these prerogatives on 2 February 1435. Mérindol, *Le roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou*, pp. 1, 58.

[32] Contamine, 'Exposé introductif', p. 6.

for expansion was the responsibility for (and the guardianship of) Charles of Ponthieu, later Charles VII. In 1413, while still third in line to the throne of France, Charles was betrothed to the elder daughter of Anjou, Marie. With the death of his two elder brothers, Louis and Jean, without issue and in quick succession, Charles of Ponthieu found himself elevated to Dauphin in 1417.

The task Anjou set itself was vast; its ambition was to unify geographically dispersed territories never before brought together under a single authority.[33] For Philippe Contamine 'these [Angevin] territories had no coherence, no natural relationships. They were gathered together by dynastic policy, or rather, multiple rival dynastic policies. In many instances the Angevins tore themselves to shreds [trying to reconcile their ambitions with their ability or rather, inability to succeed]'.[34] The princes (and princesses) of the second house of Anjou were very busy indeed: constantly on the move, and almost just as constantly in dire financial straits.

Territories, Responsibilities, and Preoccupations

The task undertaken by the second house of Anjou particularly between the years 1400 and 1442 involved multiple domains and responsibilities, which were widely dispersed geographically and culturally. The 'home territories' or perpetual hereditary domains, willed to Louis II of Anjou by his father Louis I, were entirely coherent and situated within the heart of the Kingdom of France; they made logical sense as the patrimony of a prince of the ruling house of France, his to possess peacefully, to exploit, and to pass on to his children.[35] By the time these lands passed to Louis II, they consisted of the Duchy of Anjou, the County of Maine, and various important surrounding lands and castles. During the dramatic and turbulent closing stages of the Hundred Years War, the geographical location of these prerogatives combined with alliances forged in the marital stakes, locking the destiny of the second house of Anjou to the Crown.

Once heir-presumptive to Giovanna I of Naples's fragile throne, Louis I of Anjou transformed the aspirations of his house. Upon the death of Giovanna in 1382, the rich and fertile counties of Provence-Forcalquier became possessions of

[33] Tonnere, 'Avant-Propos', p. 1.

[34] Contamine, 'Exposé introductif', p. 6. My paraphrasing.

[35] Louis I's father, Jean II of France, made over these territories to him in October 1360. Reynaud, *Le Temps des Princes*, p. 22, and Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 1334/1, fol. 7^{v}.

the second house of Anjou and henceforth its ambitious princes and princesses carried the prestigious titles of kings and queens of Naples-Sicily, Jerusalem, and Cyprus. Louis I's adoption dovetailed seamlessly with his trans-Mediterranean enterprise because an essential part of his project had rested upon the assumption of control over Provence-Forcalquier.[36] Marie de Blois-Penthièvre, widow of Louis I, worked tirelessly from 1384 until 1387 to secure these southern counties for her elder son Louis II. Her successor, Yolande of Aragon, frequently had to re-affirm Anjou's sovereignty over this vital and strategic territory.

Upon the death of her husband Louis II on 29 April 1417, ably assisted by her mother, Violant of Bar (dowager-queen of Aragon and a woman of acute and active political sensibilities), Yolande of Aragon turned her attention to the eastern extremities of her son-in-law Charles's patrimony. The Duchy of Bar, held in fief from both the Empire and the French crown, was a *fief feminine*, thus transmissible through the female line) and it was Violant of Bar's standing as the eldest child of duke Robert of Bar that was used by her to initiate litigation in the *parlement* of Paris, reclaiming her rights to her paternal heritage.[37] By the time Yolande had turned her attention to Bar, her mother had already secured a financial provision from *parlement* and was well on the way to depriving her youngest brother, Louis, cardinal-duke of Bar, of a considerable portion of his duchy. Acting upon Violant's established rights, Yolande stepped in to 'calm the dispute' and advantage her own children. She persuaded her uncle Louis to adopt her younger son, ten-year old René, in return promising to put an end to her mother's legal proceeding against him. René was designated Louis of Bar's heir and the hapless cardinal-duke was entitled to the continued quiet enjoyment of his lands and possessions.[38] A treaty was established sealing the adoption, and the same day René was engaged to Isabelle, the sole heiress of Charles II of Lorraine.[39]

Yolande had executed what was to prove both a dynastic and a geo-political masterstroke. In claiming Bar (and Lorraine) for the profit and prestige

[36] Louis I of Anjou had been keenly interested in Provence well before his adoption by Giovanna I. For example in 1368, while lieutenant-general in Languedoc for his brother Charles V, Louis I and Bertrand Duguesclin unsettled Provence with their well-armed companies; cf. Bourrilly, 'Duguesclin and le duc d'Anjou en Provence (1368)'; Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, pp. 424–25 and n. 2.

[37] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 1178 *duché de Bar*, fol. 330 and X1a: *parlement de Paris/parlement civil, lettres, arrêts, jugés*, 14 May 1418 and 14 August 1419.

[38] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le roi René*, I, 54.

[39] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le roi René*, I, 55.

of Anjou, she had manoeuvred strategically to block the path of her great and powerful political nemesis, Jean, duke of Burgundy. Charles II of Lorraine was one of Burgundy's most solid adherents, and the hand of Isabelle of Lorraine had been sought by two principal players in Burgundy's faction: the queen of France, Isabeau of Bavaria, who sought an alliance for her nephew Ludwig VIII *der Höckrige* (the Hunchback) of Bavaria, and by Henry V of England, who wanted Lorraine for his younger brother John, Duke of Bedford.[40]

The lords of Lorraine supported Yolande even though she led the opposing faction, that of the Dauphin. The Lorraine nobles had prioritized the re-unification of the duchies of Bar and Lorraine under a single jurisdiction.[41] This suited Yolande, because she needed to link surviving tiny islands of dauphinate loyalty to break the nexus of Burgundian influence in the east, and she acquired two very important additional territories into the bargain. This push, negotiated by Yolande and her mother Violant against the malleable Louis of Bar and the self-interested Charles II of Lorraine, theoretically guaranteed the succession and unity of the duchies of Bar and Lorraine and weakened Burgundy's stranglehold, checking the tactical marital plans of his supporters.[42]

On 12 October 1400, prior to her departure from Aragon to marry Louis II of Anjou in Arles, Yolande of Aragon renounced her place in the Aragonese succession. For this, she and Louis II, King and Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, were to be compensated with the sum of 200,000 gold florins.[43] An extant document points out that at the time of the death of Louis II in 1417, the larger portion of the agreed sum remained unrealized. The official act testifying to this is dated 4 August 1417, four months after Louis's death, and it was delivered to Alfonso V of Aragon by Yolande's ambassadors, Guillaume Fillastre, cardinal of Saint-Marc and archbishop of Aix, Guy de Laval and Nicolas Perregaut. Their mission was to demand the partial restitution of Yolande's unpaid 160,000 gold florins and to confirm that the promise of an additional 150,000 gold florins guaranteed to the defunct Louis II would be honoured. Reynaud suggests that the later pledge made directly to Louis II might have an *ex gratia* recompense

[40] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le roi René*, I, 54–55.

[41] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le roi René*, I, 55.

[42] Burgundian supporters and fellow travellers such as the sybaritic queen of France (ever on the alert for Bavarian advancement) and the ambitious Henry V of England; for Yolande, this victory, securing an Angevin presence in strategic eastern territories abutting the Holy Roman Empire, represented a *coup de maître* of political diplomacy and was an early indicator of her nascent political genius.

[43] Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, ch. X. lxxii, IV, 858.

for the ceding of Yolande's (and her descendants') rights, the Catalan dynasty of Aragon having died out with the passing of Yolande's paternal uncle, Martí I.[44] This exchange suggests that Yolande still held succession rights. Several documents support this assumption; her final testament (1442) and letters dated 31 March 1447 sent by Yolande's grandson, the Dauphin Louis (later Louis XI of France), reiterating Marie of Anjou's claim over certain territories in Aragon.[45] The letters are addressed to María of Castile and Joan of Aragon.[46]

In the circumstances outlined here, then, mobility, rather than being detrimental to sound government, was an aid to buttressing sovereignty and liquidity — though, as we shall see below, not always without complications and drawbacks. In the struggle for supremacy over the western Mediterranean, Anjou closely mirrored the strategies of its antagonist, Aragon. For Anjou as for Aragon, life on the road was a fact of life. Their respective domains were dispersed geographically, culturally diverse and under constant threat from both internal and external forces. Yolande of Aragon's travels in the service of her marital house were pragmatic journeys necessary to its survival in uncertain and turbulent times. In this she marched in lock-step with the traditions of her natal house of Aragon.

On the Road

Like those of Yolande's grandfather and her parents in Aragon, the personal reigns of Louis II and Yolande were tempered in the crucible of crisis, in their own territories and in those of the wider Kingdom of France. Instability in Provence, the madness of Charles VI, the fractured state of the Valois dynasty,

[44] Reynaud, *Le temps des Princes*, p. 36. For a detailed study the succession upheaval following the death of Martí I on 31 May 1410, with particular emphasis upon the second house of Anjou's claim, see Vendrell Gallostra, *Violante de Bar y el Comromiso de Caspe*.

[45] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 1334/17 fol. 52 and letter 'MMCXLIV: Au Conseil de Barcelone (V.), Romans, 31 mars (1447)' in *Lettres de Louis XI Roi de France*, ed. by Vaeson and Charavay, x, 444–46. In 1451 Charles VII also attempted restitution of these possessions. See below.

[46] María of Castile, consort of Alfonso V, king of Aragon. At the time the letter discussed above was written, María was again lieutenant-general in Catalonia for Alfonso, absent and preoccupied with the conquest and governance of the Kingdom of Naples. Joan of Aragon was his regent for Aragon. Earenfight, *The King's Other Body*, p. 1. Joan of Aragon was the younger brother of Alfonso V, later succeeding his brother as Joan II of Aragon. He held the title king of Navarre, *jure uxoris*, from the time of his marriage in 1425 to Blanche I of Navarre (d. 1441) until the time of his death in 1479.

civil strife, English offensives threatening their appanages and Louis's pressing imperative to (re)conquer his Italian kingdom created opportunities and complications in equal measure. The attention and the presence of Louis and Yolande had to be apportioned as equitably as possible and this meant taking to the road.

Absence from a territory demanded that Louis II and Yolande fine-tune their relationships with their subjects as well as their methods of governing them. The most significant refinement was Louis's conception of centralized power, one that could be rendered fragile by unavoidable absences. He mitigated this fragility by enhancing the prestige of particular categories of officers. Upon his return from Naples to Provence in 1399, one of Louis's first acts was to reform his *Chambres des Comptes* in Aix, and he quickly followed up this reform the next year in Anjou, promulgating ordinances in March 1400 for his *Chambres des Comptes* in Angers. By 1415 this policy had evolved into the creation of a *parlement* in Aix, consisting of a small group of jurists privileged with exceptional powers. He named a seneschal for Provence in 1405, and counted upon members of his family to take over the reins of power in his absence: first his brother, Charles of Tarente, in 1401 to 1404, and later his wife Yolande whom he officially designated his lieutenant-general on the eve of his departure for Italy.[47] To administer this centralization of power in Provence and Anjou, and to mitigate absence in territories, Louis II and Yolande consciously recruited academically trained ambitious young professionals. More than half of their appointments were bachelors, graduates or doctors in civil law or canon law or both.[48] While this pattern of recruitment had been initiated under the reign of Louis I of Anjou, with Louis II and Yolande it became increasingly pragmatic. A rising professional bureaucratic class, better integrated and better trained, relied upon its employers for social and professional advancement. Such officers were essential to the success of an itinerant rulership, and very much reflected the Aragonese preference for a professional administrative class based upon the Arab-influenced Sicilian model.[49]

[47] Louis's creation of a *Parlement du Provence* is documented in Aix-en-Provence, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 8, fols 306–07. The document is dated 14 August from Nîmes. He then turned northward to Rouen in the company of his son-in-law, Charles of Ponthieu, to meet with Charles VI and with his uncle Jean, the duke of Berry, and Jean, duke of Brittany, to plan for the defence of the Kingdom against the invading army of Henry V. The Battle of Agincourt was fought on 25 October 1415, in the wake of which Louis II briefly withdrew to Angers until 29 0ctober when he returned to Rouen.

[48] Coulet, 'Le personnel de la Chambre des comptes de Provence', p. 214.

[49] VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, pp. 195–97 and Beauchamp, 'Ordonnances et Réformes'.

Guardians of France: Keeping their Eyes on the 'Reial' Prize

Apart from territorial concerns, Anjou was conscious that the recurrent and intense insanity suffered by King Charles VI since the summer of 1392 was a dream-come-true for the politically ambitious and dynastically ruthless, none more so than its cousins, Burgundy and Orléans. From the summer of 1392 until the death of Charles VI in the autumn of 1422 there was great deal of malice in the palace, and it originated from just about every branch and twig in the Valois family tree.

By the middle of the first decade of the fifteenth century, Louis and Yolande realized that they had been out-manoeuvred in the marriage stakes and territorially outflanked. Burgundy had managed to marry itself and its allies into the royal family, subsequently clubbing together with their allies and the English to form a massive territorial bloc north and east of the Loire abutting the Holy Roman Empire.[50] On the point of breaking an engagement with Burgundy (Louis III was promised to Catherine of Burgundy), Yolande arranged with the queen of France, Isabeau of Bavaria, to betroth Marie of Anjou to the youngest son of France, Charles of Ponthieu. At the time of this engagement, Charles, third in line to the throne, was only ten years of age and Marie barely nine years old. With the permission of his parents, Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, Charles of Ponthieu was taken away from court to be brought up with the Angevin children.

In 1413 Charles of Ponthieu was the 'very spare heir' of the Valois dynasty. His elder brothers, Louis and Jean, were married respectively to Margaret of Burgundy, and Jean of Burgundy's niece, Jacqueline of Hainaut. Charles's elder sister, Michelle de Valois, was married to Burgundy's heir, Philippe of Burgundy. However, by the time Louis II of Anjou died in late April 1417, Charles of Ponthieu was Dauphin of France. In his final testament Louis II designated Yolande of Aragon guardian and regent for all Angevin possessions and assets.[51] Widowed, Yolande had the fourteen-year old Dauphin in her care and keeping. On 29 June 1418 Charles was confirmed in the post of lieutenant-general for his father's realm during his frequent 'absences'. Yolande's semi-nomadic existence, and that of her most trusted officers and servants, escalated, and she would not be in a position to withdraw from public life until 1439. Yolande

[50] See above for Yolande's 'Bar-Lorraine' strategy in 1419, designed to break the nexus of Burgundian eastern influence and replenish Angevin coffers.

[51] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 1334/17, no. 44.

served and protected her son-in-law Charles's interests to secure her own. This became more pressing in the summer of 1423 with the birth of her first grandchild, Louis, later Louis XI of France.

The task ahead was to prove difficult and complicated for Yolande of Aragon, and there would be both successes and setbacks before it was achieved. Like Christine de Pizan, Yolande was 'vesve, seulete et noire vestue' ('widow[ed], alone, and dressed in black').[52] Like her mother Violant, Yolande became the very essence of a virile widow, exceeding her mother's template, capable of venturing into and taking control of realms of activity ordinarily the exclusive reserve of men.[53]

Louis II and Yolande's double coronation in 1400, her husband's demonstrated confidence in her undoubted capacity to govern in his absence, and her upbringing in Aragon influenced by proactive queens-lieutenant provided a sound foundation for Yolande's (pro) active widowhood. The 'tyranny of distance' was to prove a continuing concern, and it would not always complement the competing priorities of her sons and son-in-law. Yolande had to make some hard choices, not all of which would find favour with her eldest son, Louis III, King of Sicily.

On the Road Again (and Again)

We need only to dip into Yolande of Aragon's household accounts and those of her husband Louis II of Anjou to get a sense of the extent of her business-like journeys in the service of her marital house.[54] Both sources document and emphasize Yolande's itinerancy between 1400 and 1428. Bertrand Boysett and other contemporary chroniclers supply further evidence.[55]

[52] Christine de Pisan, *Ballades, virelais, lais, rondeaux*, ed. by Roy, p. 148.

[53] Caroline Jeanne, '"Je suis vesve, seulete et noir vestue"', p. 199.

[54] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243 and KK 244 for Yolande's household accounts and for Louis II consult, as a point of departure, P (*Chambre des Comptes d'Angers*) 1334/1/2/3/4, 1334/17/18, 1354/1/2; Aix-en-Provence, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Série B (*Chambre des Comptes d'Aix*), B8, B9, and B10. Marcelle-Renée Reynaud gives exhaustive primary source documentation in 'Itinéraire de Louis II d'Anjou-Provence pendant son règne personel (octobre 1399–avril 1417)', pp. 73–110, pp. 80–109 and *Le Temps des Princes*, pp. 185–89. For the purposes of this discussion, I have used Reynaud's data for what follows.

[55] Bertrand Boysett, *Mémoires*, ed. by Ehrle, pp. 311–420; cf. Enguerrand Monstrelet, Michel Pintoin (Religieux de Saint Denis), and others.

On 2 December 1400 Yolande married Louis in Arles, where she stayed on and off in the company of Louis's mother, Marie. But she also travelled back and forth to Anjou and Paris as the need or whim arose. In 1402 both queens, the dowager Marie and Yolande, decamped to Tarascon. On 24 September 1403, Yolande gave birth to her first child, Louis III, at Angers castle. Louis II's younger brother Charles, prince of Tarente, died there on 17 May 1404, while, according to Boysett, his *cantar* (service of remembrance) was held in Arles. At the time of his death, Charles of Tarente was lieutenant-general for Louis II.[56] The brothers had travelled south to Tarascon together in February 1404, Charles returning north to Angers in early spring.[57] Marie de Blois-Penthièvre died in Angers on 2 June 1404.[58] On 14 October 1404 Yolande gave birth to her second child, Marie, in Angers with her husband in residence. By the end of November of that year, Yolande and her husband had headed south to Provence with their small children in tow.[59] On 19 March 1405 the family left Tarascon to head north into the gathering storm of the conflict between their cousins, Burgundy and Orléans.[60] September 1405 found Louis and Yolande again in Arles for his mother's *cantar* held on 21 September.[61] Louis II was recalled urgently to Melun to try to negotiate between Burgundy and Orléans (and Isabeau of Bavaria) who were locked in a bitter battle for ascendancy over the sovereignty of the 'absent' Charles VI. Yolande was back in Angers by October 1405. On 21 October, crisis averted, Louis II and Yolande accompanied Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, on their official entry into Paris.[62]

Between the years 1405 and 1409, as civil conflict deepened in the Kingdom of France, Louis II was required frequently to attend the royal council in Paris, joining Yolande, who resided mainly in Tarascon and Aix-en-Provence, when

[56] He had held this post since 1401.

[57] Bertrand Boysett, *Mémoires*, p. 370.

[58] Bertrand Boysett, *Mémoires*, p. 376.

[59] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 1334/4, fol. 75; Aix-en-Provence, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 8, fol. 250 and B 9 fols 262–63; Bertrand Boysett, *Mémoires*, p. 374.

[60] Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, bk XVI, ch. xxvi, II, 315.

[61] According to Pintoin, Louis decamped after 8 September (feast of the Nativity of the Virgin). Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, bk XVI, ch. xxvi, II, 315.

[62] Jean II Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France*, ed. by Michaud and Poujoulet, p. 433.

the opportunity arose. Yolande gave birth to her third child, René, in Angers in January 1409 at a time when Louis was deeply involved with the security of Charles VI, the royal family and the wider Kingdom.[63] By 21 February, however, Louis II had returned to Angers where Yolande and their growing brood were in residence until 26 December 1409. Louis was required to journey south to Provence, departing in early spring and arriving in Tarascon on 5 May 1409.[64] He was preparing for another assault upon Naples to assume his throne in more than name alone. By 26 December 1409 Yolande was in Paris awaiting Louis's return from Pisa *en route* from Rome.[65] On 6 January 1410 he entered Paris to attend the royal council and to hold negotiations with the duke of Burgundy regarding the betrothal of their children.[66] Louis and Yolande returned to Angers on 9 February where they stayed until the end of the month. While there, on 14 February 1410, Louis II officially accorded lieutenant-generalcy to Yolande with full powers.[67] Louis quit Anjou for Italy on 12 March, stopping off in Gien to meet with the King of Navarre and the Duke of Bourbon to calm their fears regarding their cousin, Burgundy.[68] Yolande accompanied him as far as Gien, where they celebrated Easter, returning by river to Angers between the first and fourth of April.[69] At around the same time, Yolande received the guardianship of Catherine of Burgundy, newly betrothed to Louis III.

Yolande remained in Angers until autumn 1410, making her way south to Provence with the children, arriving in Aix on 6 January 1411. Once in residence she was again obliged to calm her subjects.[70] A group of nobles, remnants of the *union d'Aix*, sought to draw advantage from a situation that had Louis II occupied in Italy with Yolande busy in her northern domains. The pacification of Provence would be a work in progress for Yolande, just as it had been for her mother-in-law, and for Louis II. The territory required a frequent Angevin

[63] See Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, II, for entries regarding Louis II's frequent presence on the royal council and by the King's side throughout this period.

[64] Aix-en-Provence, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 614.

[65] Bertrand Boysett, *Mémoires*, p. 386.

[66] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 1334/18, fol. 66.

[67] Aix-en-Provence, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 9 fols 184–85.

[68] Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, II, 317.

[69] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 17.

[70] Reynaud, *Le temps des Princes*, p. 167; Hébert, *Regeste des états de Provence 1347–1480*, pp. 207–08.

presence; any departure from this policy of direct contact with the sovereign lord or lady inevitably led to dissent.

There was also the small matter of the Aragonese succession to keep Yolande engaged. Her uncle, Martí, died on 31 May 1410 with no legitimate heirs, the last of his line.[71] Lecoy de la Marche asserts that Yolande, having calmed the *liguistes*, crossed the Pyrenees to assume her rights in favour of her son, Louis III.[72] This is in part confirmed by Zurita, who notes that on 7 February 1411, at time when the Aragonese *parlamento* had been trying to negotiate a treaty with Catalonia (which had destabilized in the wake of Martí's death), Yolande intended to enter the province, not only with her own retinue of ambassadors but also those of Charles VI, demonstrating that his royal council too supported her claim.[73] It was not merely the throne of Aragon that piqued Angevin (and France's) interest, but also rights over the Kingdom of Mallorca (the Balearic Islands, Mallorca, Minorca, Ibiza, Formentera), Sardinia and Sicily (including Malta).[74] Sovereignty over the western Mediterranean was worth claiming, given Anjou's strategic possession of Provence and its pretensions over Naples, where at the time Louis II had managed impressive victories. Had Yolande secured the western Mediterranean for her eldest son, Louis III, Anjou would have possessed a massive and powerful kingdom and a strategic empire stretching from its northern French duchy and county into its southern counties of Provence-Forcalquier, and beyond to Iberia, its islands and central Italy.

On 9 August 1411 Louis and Yolande were reunited in Marseille.[75] They remained in the south until Louis left Tarascon for Paris via Avignon, to raise

[71] See above, 'Extant Hopes of Succession in Aragon'; Barcelona, Arxiu General de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 2055, fols 26–28: in this eloquent and extensive letter, Violant of Bar accuses her daughter, Yolande of Aragon, of not defending her claim to the throne of Aragon more energetically.

[72] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Roy René*, I, 28.

[73] Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, chs XI. xi and XI. xxv, v, 39–41 and 78–79.

[74] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Roy René*, I, 29. He relates that Yolande preserved many domains in Aragon, inherited from the mother (1431), which she willed to her daughter, Marie of Anjou, in recognition of her obedience and daughterly tenderness: 'castra et loca de Borgia et de Magallono, in regno Aragonie situa [...]' ('castles and places in Borgia and Magallono, situated in the Kingdom of Aragon'), Paris, Archives Nationales de France, J 880, no. 2. Alfonso V took possession of these, and Charles VII too sought to reclaim them in his wife's name in 1451. Alfonso ignored his request (J 917, no. 1).

[75] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 19^{v}.

additional sums to continue his offensive in Italy.[76] Yolande spent Christmas with her children in Tarascon, leaving for Anjou at the end of December.[77] Despite decisive victories in Italy, Louis II did not attempt a further expedition to Naples. He seemed disinclined to push on; the troubles in France, the ill health of his men, his own deteriorating health, the scarcity of money and supplies, and the increasingly strident demands of his captains determined him to focus his efforts upon Anjou-Maine, Provence-Forcalquier, and the recovery of France.

Louis made his entry into Paris on 11 January 1412, where he remained in talks with all interested parties, including Isabeau of Bavaria and the King.[78] On 20 April Louis was authorized to attack his neighbour, the count of Alençon, designated a rebel and a felon. Louis obtained blanket authority to conquer Alençon's domains.[79] In 1412, while Louis was involved in his martial pursuits, Yolande gave birth to their fourth child, a daughter named Yolande. The exact date and place is not known, but it is clear that Yolande travelled south to Provence in 1412, and that she was back in Saumur by 10 December.[80] The English ravaged Anjou during the summer of 1412 while Louis was occupied fighting for the King (and in his own territorial interests), and while Yolande was absent from Anjou in Provence.

A pattern emerges clearly from these itinerancies. When Louis and Yolande were absent from a territory for extended periods, internal divisions and external invasions threatened their grip on sovereignty. In this they had much in common with Aragon. Both houses had effective instruments of governance, well-established administrative procedures and permanent prestigious 'capi-

[76] Pintoin states that while most believed that Louis had only returned to Paris on 11 January to raise funds, many rejoiced at his return in the hope that he might be able to mediate and broker some form of accommodation between the young Charles d'Orléans and Burgundy both of whom had taken on their defunct fathers' quarrels. Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, bk XXXII, ch. xl, II, 590–91.

[77] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 20.

[78] See Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, bk XXXII, ch. xxi, II, 475–89 for the escalation of the Orléans-Burgundy conflict. Louis and Yolande might have believed that it was more prudent to protect their real assets rather than chase virtual holdings. Louis II entered Paris accompanied by one hundred men-at-arms (bk XXXII, ch. xl and bk XXXIII, ch. xxi, II, 591 and 709); Juvénal Des Ursins, *Histoire de Ch. VI*, p. 474.

[79] Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, II, 635.

[80] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 22^{v}.

tals' in each of their territories. Notwithstanding this, like Aragon, Anjou was obliged to take to the road.[81] Its enterprise was a genuine team effort: Louis and Yolande co-governed in line with the strategies of Yolande's natal house.

From 17 August 1413, consequent to the departure of Burgundy and his supporters in disgrace, Louis II was most often in Paris or the Ile-de-France, assisting Charles VI and the Dauphin Louis.[82] On or around 21 December 1413 Yolande and her expanding family joined Louis II in Paris at the Louvre for the betrothal of their elder daughter Marie to Charles of Ponthieu, youngest surviving son of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria.[83] On 5 February 1414 Yolande scooped up her children, including Charles of Ponthieu, and headed home to Angers.

On 14 October 1414 Yolande gave birth to her last surviving child, Charles, at the castle of Montils-lès-Tours (Touraine), and the whole family travelled south to Provence.[84] While in Provence, Louis inaugurated his *parlement de Provence* as a further governance instrument to buttress their territory's security in their absence.[85] They were once again in Le Mans and Angers in the autumn of 1415, just in time to witness the Agincourt disaster, and stayed in their northern domains where Louis II died on 29 April 1417.

[81] They managed to cohabit in Anjou for the first semester of 1413. Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 23.

[82] Burgundian loyalists, Léon de Jacqueville, captain of Paris, Denys de Chaumont and Simon Caboche, attempted to block the reconciliation of sidelined princes with the king. This was at a time when Burgundy was in control of Paris and he had no desire to facilitate the re-emergence of players such as Louis II, Orléans, Bourbon, and others. Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, bk XXXIV, ch. xxiv, III, 81–89 and 95–147. This action developed into the 'Cabochian' rebellion. It resulted in Burgundy's removal from power, allowing the return of Louis II and the other princes (III, 149–61). On 20 November 1413 the Angevins returned Catherine of Burgundy (betrothed to Louis III) to her father with great pomp and ceremony. See Paris, Archives Nationales de France, 1334/18, no. 68 for an inventory of Catherine's returned dowry. Burgundy never forgave Anjou this slight, carrying his animosity to the grave.

[83] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 24; Pintoin gives the date as 18 December but, according to her household accounts, Yolande did not leave Marcoussis until 21 December. See also Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, trans. and ed. by Bellaguet, bk. XXXIV, ch. xliv, III, 231.

[84] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 46^{v}.

[85] 14 August 1415, Aix-en-Provence, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 9 fols 306–07.

Widowed and having received full guardianship of her children and absolute authority over Angevin territories and possessions, from 1419–23 Yolande remained in Provence-Forcalquier, shoring up loyalties and revenues in preparation for her elder son, Louis III's Italian campaign. She had been absent since the autumn of 1415, unable to make her presence felt, due to the increased burdens she had shouldered in the wake of Louis II's death. By 1420 Louis III of Anjou was on campaign in Italy, and on July 1423, *en route* to Naples and Aversa, he conferred vice-royalty upon Yolande. By all accounts, this was the first time that a vice-royalty was accorded a queen; the powers she had at her disposal were identical to those she had enjoyed since 1410. Her son codified her authority to rule in his name, defining it specifically as absolute.[86]

From 1419 to 1423 Yolande defended Provence against naval incursions firstly by the Genoese and later by her Aragonese relatives. In the case of the Genoese, arriving to attack the coast of Toulon, she organized a naval defensive, which sank many vessels in Hyères harbour. The Aragonese planned to invade Provence on the pretext of supporting the besieged anti-pope, Benedict XIII, resident in Avignon. Once Yolande had left Provence, and in the absence of Louis III, Alfonso V of Aragon sacked Marseille, a disaster of immense proportions. Louis III had excluded Alfonso from Naples and Giovanna II, in revoking her adoption of Alfonso in favour of Anjou, triggered Aragon's reprisals against Marseille. Yolande dispatched her seneschal, Pierre d'Acigné, who managed to surprise a landing force not far from Port de Bouc, taking many prisoners.[87]

1423 marked a turning point both for Yolande and for her priorities. In January Yolande announced to her Provençal Estates that Charles, the King of France, had recalled her 'per ben e pacifficacion de son rialme, nos vulham anar devers el, laqual causa avem intencion de fayre' ('for the good and pacification of his realm and, for this reason she intended to accede to his request').[88] Her youngest son, nine year-old Charles of Maine, remained in Provence-Forcalquier as her 'lieutenant' under the guardianship of Pierre de Beauvau and her chancellor Laugier Sapor. An established and operational structure of administration and governance functioned relatively smoothly in the southern counties, complementing well-established administrative arrangements in northern Angevin domains.

[86] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 1334/1, fols 45–46; cf. Reynaud, *Le temps des Princes*, p. 176.

[87] Camau, *La Provence à travers les siècles*, I, 112.

[88] Hébert, *Regeste des états de Provence 1347–1480*, p. 269.

While her cousin Alfonso busied himself sacking her territories in Provence, Yolande was much occupied in Brittany pleading Charles VII's case to its duke, Jean V. She was convinced that Brittany held the key to unity amongst the princes, and was indefatigable in her efforts to win a divided France to the cause of Charles VII.

Yolande's daughter, Marie, queen of France, gave birth to her first child, the Dauphin Louis, in July 1423. Both Henry V of England and Charles VI of France died in 1422 giving Charles VII, 'disinherited' by the Treaty of Troyes, the opportunity to seize his throne from his nephew, nine-month old Henry VI.[89] With these serendipitous developments and Yolande's corresponding change in policy direction in the mid-1420s, she and Louis III started to fall out over some matters of governance.[90] For all his posturing, however, Louis remained in Naples and it was up to Yolande to ensure the totality of their interests with clear-headed objectivity and pragmatism.

From the spring of 1424 the English started to pose a real threat to Yolande's northern appanage. The renewed English incursion was a direct response to Yolande's furious diplomatic activity in the north.[91] From December 1424 Anjou-Maine braced itself for imminent attack. By February 1426 Yolande began to prepare her resistance against the invasion in earnest; via her son-in-law Charles she requested that Louis III return from Italy '[...] Comme pour resister aux graves entreprinses de nos anciens ennemis [...] et autres nos rebelles et désobeissans [...] soyons delibérez nous metre sus ceste saison nouvelle à grant puissance' ('in order to resist our enemies and other rebels and insurrectionists, we have determined, this new season, to establish a new position of strength for ourselves').[92] From March to October, Angers reinforced

[89] Henry V on 31 August 1422 and Charles VI on 21 October 1422. Henry VI's mother, Catherine de Valois, was Charles VII's sister and her godmother was Yolande of Aragon. Van Kerrebrouck with Brun and Mérindol, *Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'auguste maison de France*, III: *Les Valois*, p. 118.

[90] See below for the consequences of Louis III's response. It might well be the case, however, that Yolande herself requested the delegation of responsibility for Provence in order to concentrate upon matters in the north. Either way, she remained much involved in matters Provençal.

[91] Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, I, 392–93.

[92] Nantes, Archives Départmentales de Loire-Atlantique, Cass. 4, E. 10, *Trésor des chartes des ducs de Bretagne (XI^e^–XVI^e^ siécles)*, fr. 20417, no. 3. Charles's chancellery sent the missive from Issoudun, dated 18 February 1426 where Yolande was firmly in place and present on his royal council. Paris, Archives Nationales de France, P 2532, fol. 110^v^. See Lecoy de la Marche,

its defences and in July 1426 Yolande ordered the destruction of the Baugé fortress; it was too difficult to defend.[93] Her eldest son did not heed her call.

In February 1427 Louis III named his youngest brother, Charles, lieutenant-general for Provence. Charles of Maine was still only thirteen years of age. By the summer of 1427 Charles had managed to put Provençal noses out of joint by ignoring accepted protocols and erratically convoking the Estates. In June 1427 the Estates voted to appeal to Yolande to ensure the maintenance of their privileges, and requested that she write to her son, the King (Louis III) in Naples recommending their embassy to him. They needed her to 'unblock' obstacles to the promulgation of ordinances and to expedite the departure of their embassy.[94] Provence again required her presence.

With the English on her northern doorstep menacing the county of Maine, and Charles VII distracted by a succession of unsuitable favourites, Yolande had no choice but to absent herself from Charles's royal council on 31 July 1427 and head south to sort out difficulties in Provence, assisting in the organization of defence against a further anticipated Aragonese naval offensive. The fourteen-year-old Charles of Maine was again out of his depth, factions having developed, and subsidies were not forthcoming for the defence of the counties.

Yolande was back again on Charles VII's royal council for sessions in July–September 1428.[95] She remained in 'France' until early 1434 when preparations needed to be made for the formal entry of her daughter-in-law, Margaret of Savoy, into Provence. Yolande headed south once again. Margaret welcomed and installed with the required pomp and dignity, Yolande left it to her deputies to dispatch Margaret to her new kingdom of Naples.[96] She then moved on to Vienne (Dauphiné) to meet with her son-in-law and to prepare for the council of Arras.[97] She must have felt that she could see a dim light at the end of her long tunnel, but it was only a torch heralding her next misfortune; her eldest son, Louis III, died at Consenza, Italy on 12 November 1434.

Le roi René, I, 44, n. 2, and Vallet de Viriville (Vallet), 'Notices et extraits de chartes et de manuscrits appartenant au British Museum', pp. 140–41.

[93] Le Mené, *Les Campagnes Angevines à la fin du Moyen Âge (1350–1530)*, p. 231, n. 49.

[94] Hébert, *Regeste des états de Provence 1347–1480*, p. 301.

[95] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 243, fol. 63 and K 62, no. 36.

[96] Hébert, 'Dons et entrées solennelles au XV^{e} siècle', pp. 267–81.

[97] Paris, Archives Nationales de France, KK 244 fol. 28 (March 1433)–fol. 27^{v} (entries concluding April 1435).

Yolande was back in Angers by the summer of 1435, to take on the guardianship of her granddaughter, Marguerite of Anjou, from Isabelle of Lorraine (wife of the new King of Sicily, the imprisoned René of Anjou) who needed to travel to Naples to take control of their kingdom in René's absence. Her last big diplomatic project was the initiation of a betrothal project between France and England with Henry VI' s ambassadors on behalf of Marguerite of Anjou, René, King of Sicily, and Isabelle of Lorraine, who were still absent and struggling with their Neapolitan venture. Yolande of Aragon's last major public act was her co-presidency of Charles VII's Orléans Estates held in October/November 1439, the first and last of Charles's long reign. She retired to Saumur, her preferred residence, discreetly active in the interests of her granddaughter, Marguerite, and the second house of Anjou, until her death on 14 November 1442.[98]

Conclusion

Initially, itinerant rulership functioned well for the second house of Anjou. From about 1402–10 Louis and Yolande were able to divide their time equally between Provence and Anjou, and they resided in each for extended periods of time. Upon Louis's second return from Italy in 1410, the once easy itinerancy, supported by a semi-nomadic company of secretaries, counsellors, and household staff linked back to the centralized bureaucracies (*Chambres des Comptes*) based in Aix and Angers and to seneschals in their two 'capitals', with the structures, personnel, and practices that had allowed Louis and Yolande to 'govern on the road', became more difficult to sustain. Civil wars, dishonest truces, assassinations, the erratic 'absences' of Charles VI, combined with invigorated English incursions, conspired against Anjou's projects. In the final years of his life, Louis II was a required presence on the King's council in Paris to check Burgundy and to advance the interests of his son-in-law Charles, to whom his own interests were tied.[99]

Having commenced *allegro*, the rhythm of Louis II and Yolande's itinerant co-governing partnership ended *con doloro*. Escalating itinerancy came at the expense of family life. Louis II and Yolande of Aragon were together only sporadically from 1409–17. During the course of their seventeen-year marriage

[98] Lecoy de la Marche, *Le roi René*, I, 231 and Paris, Archives Nationales de France, K 504, no. 1, fol. 32^{v}.

[99] Charles's elder brother Louis died in 1415; he was the soon-to-be-Dauphin of France, the Dauphin Jean died in 1417.

Yolande and Louis cohabited continuously for a mere forty months. Louis was required to attend royal council frequently, yet, with Angers only about ten days from Paris, he was able to keep an eye on things in his home duchy/county, while Yolande managed affairs in lucrative and often volatile Provence.[100]

Notwithstanding their extended periods of separation, Louis II and Yolande were united in their objectives; they ruled in a complementary and constructive partnership, straight from the Aragonese mould of proactive and practical de-gendered co-rulership. Their joint rulership addressed the many difficulties confronting it. For at least the first decade of their co-government, Louis and Yolande were able to arrive at an equilibrium between the two major territories of their principality (Provence-Forcalquier and Anjou-Maine), managing to balance life on the road with periods of settled existence.[101] The second heptade of their partnership, however, was marred by external violence and uncertainty arising from inescapable political realities and intractable dynastic rivalries that pushed Louis II, in particular, to the limits of endurance. He was unable to be everywhere simultaneously and, as the chronic condition afflicting him became increasingly acute, Yolande needed to be by his side.

Yolande of Aragon's adult life was lived on the road, again and again. Her journeys were business-like and pragmatic, conforming to a policy of *gobierno presencial*, a strategy requiring a distinctly Aragonese template of officially recognized queen-lieutenancy in order to succeed. Given the many points of convergence in Aragonese and Angevin political aspirations and interests, such a strategy was the natural solution to the political and diplomatic realities confronting the second house of Anjou. Yolande had grown to maturity under this model of itinerant co-government in Aragon, and it was the obvious choice for a successful and productive political partnership with Louis II, King of Sicily.

[100] Reynaud, 'Itinéraire de Louis II d'Anjou-Provence pendant son règne personel', p. 76. They managed to cohabit for two or three months in 1409, 1410, 1411, and 1414 but for only three weeks in 1412. Yolande was more often by Louis's side as he became increasingly ill from the chronic bladder condition first contracted in 1414, which would kill him in 1417. They modified the rhythm of their respective journeys in order to meet for extended periods: six months in 1414, eight months in 1415, and the whole of 1416 up until Louis's death in April 1417.

[101] Reynaud, 'Itinéraire de Louis II d'Anjou-Provence pendant son règne personel', p. 69.

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Student Mobilities and Masculinities: The Case of the Empire North of the Alps in the Fifteenth Century

Maximilian Schuh

'Meum est propositum in taberna mori'
(My intention is to die in the tavern)
Archipoeta, ed. by Krefeld, X. xii. 1, p. 83

This famous quotation, attributed to Walter Map, is an excellent example of how the phenomenon of academic mobility was modelled literarily in the Middle Ages.[1] It highlights the significant impact of mobility and its consequences on the lyrical ego speaking in this poem. In poetry, the student is imagined as without a proper home, meeting his destiny alone and in the tavern:

> Tercio capitulo memoro tabernam:
> ullam nullo tempore sprevi neque spernam,
> donec sanctos angelos venientes cernam,
> cantantes pro mortuis: 'requiem eternam'.
>
> In the third chapter, I remember the tavern:
> which I have at no time despised or will despise,
> until I will see the holy messengers coming,
> singing for the dead: 'eternal requiem'.[2]

[1] Walter Map allegedly altered the Archpoet's verses: Short, 'Literary culture at the court of Henry III'.

[2] *Archipoeta*, ed. by Krefeld, X. xi. 1–4, p. 83.

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The tavern is presented as the location of various licit and illicit amusements, and the stage on which to perform one's masculinity by drinking, gambling, fighting, and making contact with women. Romanticizing literary images such as these can not only be found within Map's poems but also in the works of other medieval poets, and have left a strong impression upon today's popular and scholarly perceptions of academic mobility.[3] In the first half of the twentieth century, Helen Waddell based her extremely positive image of medieval academic travel upon such literary sources, and even today's scholarship is partially reliant upon them, tending to stress the positive aspects of academic life in the Middle Ages.[4]

Perceptions of Academic Mobility and Masculinity in the Scholarship

In order to question popular and scholarly preconceptions of the wandering, lone scholar, it is necessary to take a closer look at the actual academic living conditions of late medieval scholars as these are presented in university records, letters, student manuscripts, and many other sources. Studies on the social history of medieval universities have shown that just 20–25% of university students in the Empire north of the Alps actually visited more than one university town in the fifteenth century.[5] Extensive academic mobility was not a widespread phenomenon, but rather a privilege for those students whose social and economic background allowed it. For the majority of students, however, the voyage ended when they arrived at the nearest university town. Scholars such as Samuel Karoch of Lichtenberg, who visited almost every university in the Empire during the second half of the fifteenth century, were a very rare exception. The opportunity for academic travel heavily depended on the students' social background.[6]

Different forms of academic mobility in the fifteenth century are therefore closely linked to the question of social stratification within the late medieval universities. German historiography on the medieval university is still deeply influenced by a controversy that had its origins in cold war polemic. In an influential lecture held at the universities of Leipzig and Jena in 1956, Herbert Grundmann characterized the *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* (the uni-

[3] Irrgang, 'Scholar vagus, goliardus, ioculator'.

[4] Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*.

[5] Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, p. 29.

[6] Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, p. 29.

versity of masters and scholars) as a close-knit community of learning which had freed itself from medieval estates and rallied exclusively around scientific achievement and the *amor sciendi* (the love of knowledge).[7] The West-German professor's argument was directed against the positions of Marxist historiographers in the German Democratic Republic, positions that characterized universities as educational institutions producing the personnel required to maintain the power of the ruling classes.[8] Grundmann, by contrast, relied on the idea of the old and worldwide community of scholars that was popular in nineteenth century historiography.[9] In 1966 Peter Classen challenged Grundmann's primary focus on the *amor sciendi* and argued for a re-evaluation of the political, economic, and social influences on universities.[10] More fundamental critiques of Grundmann's notion arose with the increasing importance of social history since the 1970s. Based on statistical analysis of matriculations at universities during the fifteenth century and further research on the social history of medieval universities, Rainer Christoph Schwinges and like-minded researchers took quite the opposite view. Universities were not free of the hierarchies of medieval society; on the contrary, these very hierarchies were mirrored in their academic structure. Poor students were sometimes able to make some social progress by personal achievement, but on the whole their courses of study were dictated by their status within the framework of medieval society. Law students came from wealthier social backgrounds than those studying theology or medicine, with the result that the faculty of law claimed a high rank within the social structure of the university. More than half of the student body did not rise within the academic ranks at all because the costs of tuition fees and academic promotion were effective instruments in limiting access to university degrees.[11]

Similarly, scholarship on the gender history of academics works with a historiographical bias. Ruth Mazo Karras in particular has characterized the medieval university as an elite all-male community that rallied around certain masculine values that were in some ways similar to those praised by the chivalric estate. The fierce but controlled discussions that took place in academic dis-

[7] Grundmann, *Vom Ursprung der Universität im Mittelalter*.

[8] Steinmetz, 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen', pp. 11–19.

[9] Rüegg, 'Themen, Probleme, Erkenntnisse', pp. 28–29.

[10] Classen, 'Die Hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert'.

[11] Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*; Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität'; Schwinges, 'Resultate und Stand der Universitätsgeschichte des Mittelalters vornehmlich im deutschen Sprachraum'.

putations, for example, arguably resembled the controlled combat conditions of a tournament. Furthermore, the cruel initiation ritual of deposition, symbolically marking the participant's new status as a student, is presented as an altered form of the knightly accolade.[12] There are problems with this approach, however. Firstly, Karras draws her examples from a timespan of over two hundred years and from universities in Italy, France and the Empire north of the Alps alike, although these universities differed remarkably in their institutional structures. Secondly, while she does acknowledge social fragmentation in the medieval university, her approach stresses the unity of the concept of academic masculinity.[13]

Other scholars, however, highlight the dangerous problems of generalization that emerge from this way of writing gender history. As Joan W. Scott famously argued in 1986, gender, in historical perspective, is not a uniform label for a male-female binary, but a variable category of historical analysis that relates to other categories such as class and race.[14] Current approaches to the historical study of masculinities take up this idea. In his book on masculinity in late medieval England, Derek Neal stresses the variety of constructions depending on different social roles a single man could assume.[15] Jürgen Martschukat and Olaf Stieglitz as well as Martin Dinges also abandon the notion of only one concept of masculinity. Instead, they distinguish between different notions of masculinity that are closely related to these other social categories.[16] I would suggest that it is not anachronistic, but, on the contrary, beneficial for the understanding of gender in pre-modern eras to apply such innovations in the study of masculinity to students and scholars in the fifteenth century. In the light of such recent work, generalizing notions of manhood in medieval university contexts should be questioned. In particular, it is highly questionable, as we shall see, that all medieval men rallied behind a single idea of chivalric model of masculinity. Indeed, apart from anything else, the fact that the age of members of the university ranged from the early teens to the seventies immediately suggests that we need to think about different and more variable models of masculinity and to correlate these where appropriate and pos-

[12] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 67–195.

[13] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 68–75; Karras, 'Seperating the Men from the Goats', p. 189.

[14] Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis'.

[15] Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, pp. 13–20.

[16] Martschukat and Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Männlichkeiten*; Dinges, 'Hegemoniale Männlichkeit'.

sible with stages of life. In this study, then, I relate the students' different social backgrounds to ideas and practices of specific masculinities, in order to move towards an understanding of the complex implications of social stratification on gender. Following Derek Neal, I link scholars' social backgrounds to their mobility opportunities and notions of masculinity. After describing different social types of academics at universities in the fifteenth century Empire north of the Alps, using the scholarly paradigm sketched out by Rainer Christoph Schwinges, I turn to a specific case study. The University of Ingolstadt, founded in 1472, is a typical university in a mid-sized town in Germany.[17] The documentary sources relating to this university not only offer examples of different types of students and scholars that allow us to investigate their mobility, but also enable us to compare different ways in which masculinity was constructed and performed within the student body.

Students and Universities in the Fifteenth-Century Empire

In the fifteenth century, the university landscape in the Empire north of the Alps was completely restructured by several new princely and civic foundations. While in 1419 eight universities existed, their number increased to seventeen before the beginning of the Reformation in 1517.[18] By providing new academic institutions in relative spatial proximity, this development allowed an educational expansion. In the beginning of the century, the average number of matriculations per year in the Empire was about four hundred, but by 1500 that had increased to nearly three thousand. Meanwhile, the average population growth rate was only slowly recovering from the setbacks of the Black Death.[19] The increasing student numbers fundamentally challenged the medieval university system in the Empire. Originally, academic graduations were a form of co-optation to recruit a substantial teaching staff.[20] In the second half of the fifteenth century however, the percentage of university students able to follow an academic career was small. Nearly half never took any degree at all. The overwhelming majority were attempting to acquire some knowledge and

[17] Müller, 'Ludwig IX. der Reiche, Herzog von Bayern-Landshut (1450–1479)'.

[18] Verger, 'Grundlagen', pp. 65–68; Seifert, 'Das höhere Schulwesen', pp. 198–99; Hammerstein, *Bildung und Wissenschaft vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, p. 5.

[19] Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, pp. 23–37; Seifert, 'Das höhere Schulwesen', pp. 198–99.

[20] Seifert, 'Das höhere Schulwesen', pp. 214–16.

skills by attending a few university lectures that could potentially enhance their chances to take up a position as a parish priest, parish vicar, teacher, scribe or the like. A higher social prestige and the participation in important social networks were other benefits of some time spent at university.[21]

The faculty of arts was therefore the very centre of universities within the Empire. The overwhelming majority of students took some arts courses as formal requirements for entry were rather low. Because only a very basic knowledge of Latin was necessary, financial qualifications such as sufficient funding for tuition fees and living costs were the main hindrance for prospective students.[22]

Based on these facts, Rainer Christoph Schwinges, in his contribution to the *The History of Universities in Europe*, identified five types of students at late medieval universities in the Empire north of the Alps.[23] The first type, the *scolaris simplex*, did not advance to any academic degree at all. He was around fourteen to sixteen years old, stayed for 1.8 years, on average, at the arts faculty and tried to gain some skills that would be likely to prove useful in a non-university work sphere. This type could account for up to fifty per cent of the student body.[24] The second type, the bachelor student of sixteen to nineteen years, represented up to twenty per cent of the student body. He received a formal certificate for his two- to three-year period of study that was examined by a commission of masters. This certificate could be an advantage in competition for positions with the *scolares simplices*, or help him to obtain a minor benefice. The percentage of poor students — recognizable by their payment of reduced matriculation fees — in this type is higher than in any other.[25] The third student type, which represented ten per cent of the student population, is the master student, normally of around twenty years of age, who continued after his bachelor degree to finish the course of studies at the arts faculty. After his graduation as *magister artium* he would have taught the arts curriculum for two years to confirm his degree. Some of the masters remained teachers at the arts faculty for the rest of their life, but many of them continued to study

[21] Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität', pp. 181–87; Wriedt, 'Studium und Tätigkeitsfelder der Artisten im späten Mittelalter', pp. 12–14; Kintzinger, 'A Profession But Not a Career?'; Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany*, pp. 161–64.

[22] Schwinges, 'Die Zulassung zur Universität', pp. 161–66.

[23] Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität', pp. 182–87.

[24] Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität', p. 182.

[25] Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität', pp. 182–83.

theology, law, or medicine. They were simultaneously students and masters, a dichotomy that fundamentally characterized the medieval university.[26]

These three student types found at the faculty of arts accounted for over eighty per cent of the student body at universities in the north alpine Empire. Nevertheless most of the historiography of universities has focused on types four and five in Schwinges's classification: graduates from the higher faculties and noble students. This imbalance in attention results from the fact that these student types often later held important posts in the administration of princely territories and the church. As these types have also left to us more evidence than the bulk of young men crowding German university towns in second half of the fifteenth century, researchers into their careers also benefit from a wider source base.[27]

The three major types of arts students described by Schwinges are, moreover, not only a historiographical concept, but were a classification well-established in the fifteenth century. In the early 1470s, the Ingolstadt Faculty of Arts founded a confraternity to read masses for its deceased members and to fund other religious activities. To ensure the effectiveness of the masses and the communal prayers, following 1478 all members' names were written down in a codex.[28] This manuscript is characterized by a systematic division into three parts: *scolares*, *baccalarii*, and *magistri*. On folio 1^{r} we find a list of the names of the *magistri* accepted into the confraternity, recorded by Wolfgang Öder, the acting Dean, in summer 1478.[29] The list continues on the following pages. On folio 13^{r}, Öder begins to list the *baccalarii*, following the same pattern.[30] Finally, from folio 52^{r} onwards, the names of the *scolares* are recorded.[31] This evidence from the confraternity's administrative documents shows that Schwinges's conception of the different student types is based on a contemporary understanding of rank and status, not only within the university but

[26] Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität', p. 183.

[27] Schwinges, 'Der Student in der Universität', pp. 184–86.

[28] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-IV-1.

[29] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-IV-1, fols 1^{r}–12^{v}, 1^{r}: 'Magistri intitulati ad fraternitatem facultatis artistice' ('Masters who became members of confraternity of the arts faculty').

[30] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-IV-1, fols 13^{r}–51^{r}, 13^{r}: 'Waccalaurei intitulati ad fraternitatem facultatis artistice' ('Bachelors who became members of the confratertinity of the arts faculty').

[31] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-IV-1, fols 52^{r}–134^{r}, 52^{r}: 'Scolares intitulati ad fraternitatem facultatis artistice' ('Scolares, who became members of the confraternity of the arts faculty').

also within the Faculty of Arts. The Ingolstadt documents demonstrate the differentiation of faculty members into *scolares*, *baccalarii*, and *magistri*. But how did this stratification correspond to the different concepts of masculinity and, furthermore, with student mobility?

Behaviours and Gendered Identities Among Ingolstadt Students

In contrast to fourteenth century Paris and Bologna, which were able to attract students from all over Latin Europe, Ingolstadt, in common with other universities in the Empire, relied heavily on its surrounding territories.[32] The actual recruitment area of Ingolstadt University was rather limited; most students attending the *studium generale* came from within a radius of one hundred and fifty kilometres. Most of the students were supplied by surrounding small- and mid-sized towns.[33] The economic advantages of visiting the closest university town were probably an important reason for this pattern. Travel expenses would be moderate and the nearby hometown allowed the speedy supply of money and other essentials such as clothing and food.[34] Traditional social support systems, such as the family, could be retained, and even at the university itself the probability of meeting relatives, friends and others from back home was rather high. For many, indeed, the foundation of a nearby university created the first opportunity to attend an academic institution at all. This trend is supported by increases in attendance at universities following the foundation of new universities. Between 1470 and 1479, the first decade of Ingolstadt's existence, ninety-two students from Regensburg enrolled at a university in the Empire, Italy, or France; in previous the decade, only fifty-nine had attended a *studium generale*.[35] As thirty-four of the ninety-two Regensburgers studied at Ingolstadt, the new university apparently attracted a wider audience. Similar trends have, moreover, been identified in Franconian towns in proximity to Ingolstadt.[36] It seems, then, that the mere existence of a nearby educational institution boosted the overall number of students in the surrounding territories by enabling university attendance for social strata hitherto excluded from it.

[32] Schmutz, *Juristen für das Reich*, pp. 67–77; de Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobilität', p. 263; Tanaka, *La nation Anglo-Allemande de l'Université de Paris à la Fin du Moyen Âge*, pp. 41–73.

[33] Schuh, 'Ingolstadt oder Italien', pp. 26–32; Schuh, *Aneignungen des Humanismus*, p. 44.

[34] Schwinges, 'Stiefel, Wams und Studium'.

[35] Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany*, p. 367.

[36] Schwinges, 'Franken in der Universitätslandschaft des späten Mittelalters', pp. 12–14.

Nonetheless, the records suggest that, for many young students, the absence of social control from parents, relatives, and neighbours opened up the possibility of developing and exploring different aspects of their masculinity.[37] Their drinking, gambling, fighting, and frequent contacts with prostitutes are often found as problems in the sources. In 1507, for example, Ulrich Mair of Brixen complained in a letter to his son Georg — probably a *scolaris simplex* (type 1) in Ingolstadt — about his never-ending requests for money. Upon enquiring of Georg's magister concerning his expenses, Ulrich had learned that his offspring ate and drank not at the *bursa* (student hall) but at the tavern and spent a good part of his money in notably suspicious areas of the town.[38] Given these reports, Georg seems to fulfil all prejudices against young students. But he was not an exception to the rule. On the contrary, many similar occurrences are noted in the university's court book — where disciplinary conflicts inside and outside the university were documented — on a regular basis. Members of the university were fined because of molestation of women and disputes with prostitutes, illicit visits to taverns, fighting with other students and townsmen.[39] The students, free of parental control, may have been testing a notion of masculinity common among their peer group. Being away from home opened up this possibility for the adolescent students, one that has been identified as important in becoming a man in other late medieval contexts.[40]

The question remains, however, of the degree to which public behaviour such as that of Georg is indicative of a wider model of academic masculinity operating across the whole university. Rector, professors, and masters tried to contain overwhelming deviant behaviour and to put forward alternative male role-models.[41] Yet some evidence suggests that the students themselves were not only furious and violent young men who saw women only as objects to satisfy their sexual needs, as the court book might suggest. Other sorts of evidence from Ingolstadt hint at different gendered attitudes towards women and girls.

Agostino Dati's *Elegantiolae* was a Latin textbook for rhetorical style in common use among the north alpine universities in the last quarter of the

[37] Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, pp. 14–16 stresses the close link between mobility and gender identity.

[38] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Oefeleana 335 I, fol. 114r.

[39] Schuh, 'Von alten Bürgern und jungen Studenten im spätmittelalterlichen Ingolstadt'.

[40] Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, pp. 20–25.

[41] Schuh, 'Von alten Bürgern und jungen Studenten im spätmittelalterlichen Ingolstadt', pp. 81–85.

fifteenth century. The Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg holds a copy of this textbook that can be identified as used in rhetoric classes at Ingolstadt in the 1480s.[42] Glosses added by an Ingolstadt student to the copy show some thought given to his opinion of women and girls. For example, where the textbook explains the use of the intensifiers *longe* and *multo* in combination with the comparative of adjectives, he has added in the adjacent margin: 'Johannes Stetmaister longe carior est puellis ceteris waccalareis' ('Johannes Stetmaister is far more popular with the girls than the other bachelors').[43] The bachelor was not only able to apply the grammatical and stylistic rules of the textbook; he also brought an example from his everyday life into the rhetoric class. In so doing, moreover, he attempted to present a female perspective on a man, rather than the other way round, as we might expect given Karras's characterization of university students' gendered behaviour.[44]

Given that many students and professors in the higher faculties of theology, law, and medicine — type four students in Schwinges's classification — financed their studies and living with benefices in cathedral and collegiate churches, the practice of celibacy was a common feature for the majority of them in the fourteenth and much of the fifteenth century. Although the papal registers show that many tried to delay their ordination as a subdeacon to avoid the full consequences of clerical life for as long as possible, living without wife and children was an important aspect of the gendered identity of advanced students in theology and canon law.[45] Deviant behaviour in younger years may have been a way of dealing with this destination, as Karras suggests, but the celibate lifestyle of later years required different expressions of masculinity.[46]

Being the head of a family and a household, thus holding responsibility for and control over its members, was another typical model of masculinity in the Middle Ages. The individual master of Schwinges's third type could not follow this model, but he could make up for the absence of wife and dependents by acting as the head of an academic family. The experienced *magister* Heinrich

[42] Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 213, fols 1^{r}–74^{v}. See Spilling, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, pp. 221–24.

[43] Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 213, fol. 7^{v}.

[44] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 87.

[45] Schmugge, Hersperger, and Wiggenhauser, *Die Supplikenregister der päpstlichen Pönitentiarie aus der Zeit Pius II.*, pp. 147–51, 161ff. For the impact of celibacy on late medieval concepts of masculinity see Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, pp. 118–22.

[46] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 77–79.

Pfeilschmid, for example, was the leader of a group of masters, bachelors and students who relocated together from Vienna to Ingolstadt in 1472. Similarly, Andreas Hummel led the Hospitaller student Johannes Gramug from a monastery school in Memmingen to his further studies at the University of Ingolstadt, as attested by several entries in Gramug's surviving compendium of textbooks.[47]

Men living in celibacy had no way of being commemorated by their direct descendants. The patronage of family members from one's home town provided a way of compensating for this problem. The Ingolstadt theology professor Georg Zingl, for example, helped two relatives from Schlierstadt to enter the university without paying for matriculation. For Martin and Ulrich Zingl, who were still under fourteen years of age, this would have been an important advantage.[48] In 1509, moreover, Zingl institutionalized the sponsorship of young men by creating two scholarships for students of theology.[49] Wolfgang Öder, a bachelor in theology from Kehlheim, on the other hand was able to include the names of his mother Agnes, his half-brother Konrad Diepolt and his grand-father Konrad Öder into the member list of the arts faculty's confraternity, thus providing for the spiritual advantages of his relatives who were not members of this community.[50]

Many university men seem to have neglected the consequences of their sexual activity, as abundant evidence from episcopal and papal sources as well as literary topoi suggest.[51] But documents concerning the Ingolstadt student Benedikt Prenninger offer us a glimpse of an alternative model, and one appropriate to a later stage of life than that of Georg Mair. Benedikt asked the curial penitentiary for a dispensation because of his illegitimate birth in 1492 in order to obtain ecclesiastical benefices.[52] He was probably the illegitimate son of the former Ingolstadt master Martin Prenninger.[53] After studying the arts and law in Vienna, Ingolstadt, and Italy, Martin married a patrician's daughter from Ulm and continued a highly successful career as a law professor in

[47] Schuh, 'Ingolstadt oder Italien', p. 41.

[48] *Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität*, pt 1: *Ingolstadt*, I, 266, ll. 12–15.

[49] Real, *Die privaten Stipendienstiftungen der Universität Ingolstadt*, pp. 30–36.

[50] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-IV-1, fols 57^{r}, 161^{r}.

[51] Buchardt, 'Illegitime in den Diözesen Würzburg, Bamberg und Eichstätt'; Schuh, 'Zwischen Erfurt, Wien und Padua'.

[52] *Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität*, pt 1: *Ingolstadt*, I, 241, ll. 20ff.; *Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum*, VII, 597–98, no. 3801.

[53] Worstbrock, 'Prenninger, Martin'.

Tübingen.[54] As both Martin and Benedikt lived in the diocese of Constance, Martin, it seems, did not take advantage of his academic mobility to abandon his son, but provided for his clerical career.[55] By caring for his illegitimate child, Martin found a way of performing masculinity that has parallels with normative lay models of male behaviour.

Hieronymus Paternoster, another bachelor in theology of Schwinges's fourth type, provides us with yet another alternative model of mobile, masculine, academic, gendered identity. Paternoster followed the same strategy as Wolfgang Öder by sneaking the name of his father, Ulrich, into the confraternity's list. Unlike Öder, however, Paternoster is also recorded as investing his money in a collection of books.[56] Because of their mobility, scholars had to look for an alternative to traditional investments as an expression of masculinity such as land and houses. As books were valuable items in the fifteenth century, not only because of their material value based on the labour-intensive production but also because of the access to information they provided, they were not merely functional items for students and scholars, but a way of expressing economic and intellectual power that was not open to most women. As academic books in particular were largely written in Latin, a language few women were able to read, and treated subjects unknown to them, the purchasers of such books were mostly men. In this respect, they can be seen as an expression of masculinity.[57] In particular, to buy books above and beyond those needed for university teaching was to make a statement about oneself. Highly transportable, such books were ideal items for a mobile academic household. When Paternoster died in 1483 without any heir, he left over twenty books to the library of the Ingolstadt Arts Faculty, among them a modern humanist edition of Cicero printed in Venice.[58] The Leipzig master Johannes von Wünschelburg, a student of Schwinges's third type, even used his book collection in 1450 as a retirement provision. He gave the parish St Martin in Amberg his book collection to ensure his care during the later days of his life.[59] Such a move would have

[54] Zeller, *Der Jurist und Humanist Martin Prenninger*.

[55] Buchardt, 'Illegitime in den Diözesen Würzburg, Bamberg und Eichstätt', p. 243.

[56] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-IV-1, fol. 161^{r}.

[57] Powitz, 'Privater Buchbesitz in Frankfurt am Main während des späten Mittelalters'.

[58] Munich, Universitätsarchiv, O-I-2, fol. 14^{r} in *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, III. 2: *Das Bistum Eichstätt*, p. 233. See Schuh, *Aneignungen des Humanismus*, p. 208.

[59] Fuchs, 'Buchbesitz als Altersvorsorge'.

been essential for his survival; as a cleric, the university teacher had no sons or daughter to provide such care. The Ingolstadt student and master Leonhard Estermann (also of Schwinges's third type) seems, on the other hand, to have used books as an expression of his intellectual and economic power. During his studies at the University of Ingolstadt he bought almost twenty incunables and wrote several manuscript books. Many of these books as, for example, an incunabula containing the collected works of Virgil in an Italian edition did not relate to any university curriculum. As Estermann entered the monastery of Tegernsee in 1491, after he had taken his master's degree, this extensive book collection was given to the monastery's library. Buying books and writing manuscripts, we can infer, was, for Estermann, a way of expressing an academic form of masculinity as well as making an economic investment for the future. These, along with all other personal possessions, had to be surrendered when Estermann entered the monastic life.[60] For the monastery, on the other hand, the new books for the library must have proved a good form of compensation for taking in a new monk.

All of these students and masters from Schwinges's first to fourth types, then, found many ways of expressing their masculinity other than drinking and gambling in infamous, shabby taverns. These ways involved academic parallels or alternatives to traditional family structures and portable alternatives to investments in property, notably books. Undoubtedly, noble and chivalric constructions of masculinity were present in universities in the fifteenth-century Empire, but are unlikely to have served as models for the whole student body in the way that Karras has suggested.[61] Noble students (the fifth type in Schwinges's classification), however, directly introduced non-academic ways of constructing and expressing masculinity into university life. Individual mobility and high-status, gendered behaviours, such as a prestigious and expensive lifestyle, bearing weapons, and having servants, went hand in hand with the refusal to accept academic hierarchies.[62] As most nobles studied law, it was in this faculty that most conflicts arose. Professors' instructions and the university dress code were disobeyed. Weapons as symbol of the noble estate were carried despite university legislation.[63] Most nobles declined the possibility

[60] Stalla, '*Leonhard Estermann aus Wasserburg und seine Büchersammlung in der Benediktinerabtei Tegernsee*'.

[61] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 89–95.

[62] Füssel, *Gelehrtenkultur als symbolische Praxis*, pp. 253–77.

[63] Müller, *Universität und Adel*, pp. 170–73.

of acquiring academic titles as the examination by non-nobles challenged the superiority given by birth.[64] After the 1490s, Ingolstadt became the most popular university with nobles in the north alpine Empire, because here they had far-reaching privileges and the university paid attention to their segregation from other estates.[65] The noble elite attempted to operate inside the university structures, then, but distinguished itself by refusing to accept its rules. The aspect of mobility plays an important role in this context. The noblemen stayed just for a short while at the universities in the Empire north of the Alps. Their ultimate goal was to attend the famous law universities in Bologna, Pavia, and Padua, where the young members of the imperial nobility met.[66] Here they actually controlled the university administration and were able to pursue their noble lifestyle and class-related gendered behaviours without any institutional conflict. However, this specific variety of noble masculinity was just one estate-bound construction among others found at the late medieval university.

Conclusion

Fifteenth-century reality was, of course, often more complex, differentiated and less easily categorized than the scholar types discussed here may suggest. Nonetheless, these specific examples from different socio-economic and academic groups at Ingolstadt have provided some insights into patterns of gendered behaviour and mobility within this complex reality. Schwinges's student types, here supported by references to similar categorizations in documentary sources, provide us with a new perspective from which to nuance and critique established and generalizing perspectives on mobile, scholarly masculinities. Academic ranks within the university mirrored social ranks in medieval society and functioned as a contemporary way of dealing with diverging groups and their identities. Socio-economic status and the mobility that came with it inflected the diversity of the student body, and thus the ways of performing masculinity open to them, at a fundamental level. Wealthy students could and did travel to more distant, famous institutions, or use a regional university as a stepping stone on the way to an internationally famous and prestigious one. This mobility, of course, increased their chances of making influential connec-

[64] Müller, *Universität und Adel*, pp. 159–62.

[65] Müller, *Universität und Adel*, pp. 108–10; Schwinges, 'Die Universität als sozialer Ort des Adels', pp. 366–67.

[66] Gramsch, *Erfurter Juristen im Spätmittelalter*, pp. 237–40.

tions. Nonetheless, within the ranks of regional universities, the student body was gradated socially, and in terms of level, aims, and mobilities. To consider this gradation in terms of gender, we therefore need to be nuanced and flexible in the way that we think about masculinity. We need to be alert to a diversity of models for male behaviour, and of ways of performing one's masculinity. Consequently, notions of the university as one elite all-men community, or even as a *universitas* of chauvinist equals, do not help to understand and analyse the complex social structure of a late medieval *studium generale*. I have argued instead for a perspective that stresses the social differences within the university as a male community. The medieval university was not one community of men, but a lively body, which consisted of different sub-communities that had different ways of imagining, negotiating, and performing their gender. These could include elite debates, rebellion against institutional hierarchies, drinking, and womanizing. But, at other stages of life, they could also include providing for the spiritual or physical welfare of a child or a real or surrogate family, in a manner that mirrored the normative lay model of the man as head of a household. They could also include investing in books, which functioned as highly portable, exchangeable expressions of a gendered, scholarly identity. Many of these ways related to scholars' mobilities, as students and scholars adjusted their gendered behaviours to more and less mobile lifestyles. At the end of his 'mobile' life as a student, as Leonhard Estermann entered the monastery of Tegernsee with its expectation of *stabilitas loci*, he surrendered his extensive book collection to his new home, thus symbolically expressing the end of his former way of life. At university these different male groups were connected and bound together by a common institutional framework, but each of them, subject to different circumstances and expectations, created distinctive masculinities.

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Part IV

Migration and Return: Peoples and Objects on the Move

Slavs but not Slaves: Slavic Migrations to Southern Italy in the Early and High Middle Ages

Zrinka Nikolić Jakus

Introduction

Southern Italy (here considered as the area between the Abruzzi in the north and the island of Sicily in the south) has in the early and high Middle Ages been rightfully described as 'a region open to a wide range of external, foreign influences'.[1] Such influences were, however, usually absorbed by the existing population within a short period of time. The consequence was gradual development of a mixture of peoples of various origins, languages, laws, and even religions, who had come, by different means, at different historical moments. Some of them had been there for centuries, others had arrived only recently; some came as conquerors, others in a less belligerent way. As well as large populations of Langobards and Greeks, then, following later conquests, Arabs and Normans, sources also reveal the presence of Franks, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, and other minorities.[2] It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find among them those coming from the opposite, eastern Adriatic coast.

[1] Oldfield, 'The Iberian Imprint on Medieval Southern Italy', p. 312.

[2] Guillou and Tchérémissinoff, 'Note sur la culture arabe et la culture Slave dans le

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Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder, IMR 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 267–290
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.5.105550

However, the South Slavs from across the Adriatic largely did not come voluntarily. In fact, it has been generally established by the historians who deal with Southern Italy that most of the slaves mentioned in the documents between the mid-eleventh and the late twelfth century were Slavs by origin. The court of Bari even proclaimed in 1127 that no Christian men and women were to be held as slaves except those of Slavic origin.[3] However, the argument that the Slavs were sometimes not true Christians, which was used from the thirteenth century onwards on both sides of the Adriatic coast as an excuse for the enslavement of alleged members of the heretical Bosnian Church, does not apply to this earlier period. Rather, it seems that the slaves of Slavic origin were too important for their owners to be discarded because of their religion. Most of these slaves were girls and women who were held as household servants in richer households in the coastal cities, in the same manner as was the case in Dalmatia on the eastern Adriatic. The first slave-woman of Slavic origin attested in South Italy is recorded as forming part of a dower in Bari around 1057.[4] A Dalmatian slave-girl owned by a nobleman from Siponto (in the southern part of the Gargano peninsula, nowadays a suburb of Manfredonia) was cured from leprosy at the shrine of St Nicholas in Bari around 1100.[5]

And yet, these were not the only Slavs present in this period in Southern Italy. Indeed, their presence as plunderers and attackers, as well as settlers, has been often noticed in historiography, most notably by André Guillou, Michele Fuiano, and Jean-Marie Martin.[6] In this article I present those instances in which these 'other' Slavs appeared in Southern Italy, as well as analyse the possible circumstances and consequences of their arrival. I concentrate especially on the Slav community that was documented on the Gargano peninsula in the

katépanat d'Italie'; Guillou, 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou Byzantins en Italie méridionale?', pp. 153–58; Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, pp. 489–526.

[3] *Codice diplomatico barese*, V, ed. by Nitti di Vito, doc. 74, pp. 128–30.

[4] *Codice diplomatico barese*, IV, ed. by Nitti di Vito, doc. 36, p. 76. More examples of slaves of Slavic origin are cited in: Oldfield, *City and Community in Norman Italy*, p. 206, n. 152. See also: Martin, 'L'esclavage en Pouille', pp. 53–74. On the language of slavery in Italy, including the terminology inspired by Slavic slaves, see: Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery*, esp. pp. 18–19.

[5] Pompeo Sarnelli quotes Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (XXV, ch. 38) in his *Cronologia de' vescovi et arcivescovi sipontini*, pp. 147–48; Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, p. 509.

[6] Guillou, 'Migration et présence Slaves en Italie du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle'; Fuiano, 'La colonia slava di Devia'; Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, pp. 504–09. In Croatian historiography see: Nikolić, 'Najstarija slavenska naselja u južnoj Italiji'.

eleventh century and suggest possible solutions to the unanswered question of their place of origin and the circumstances of their migration.

The Earliest References to Slavs in Italy: Raids and Sieges

Slavs are first attested in Southern Italy by Paul the Deacon in his *Historia Langobardorum* (*History of the Langobards*). Since he was writing much later than this first appearance took place — most probably in the mid-780s — one should be careful when interpreting his work. However, it does not seem that he had any reasons to invent or manipulate this particular piece of information.[7] According to Paul, in 642, certain Slavs arrived with many boats and camped near Siponto, killing the local Langobard ruler and Duke of Benevento, Aio, in an ambush. Afterwards they were outsmarted by Aio's blood-brother Radoald, son of the Duke of Furlania (Friuli), who knew their language.[8] It is unclear who these Slavs were and what were their intentions and motives for this attack. They may have been either Croats or Narentan Slavs, later notorious for their piratical abilities, or they may even have come from Hum, the area south of the Neretva river. It is less probable, however, that these were, as André Guillou has presumed, the Avaro-Slavs persecuted by the Croats who, according to the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, were invited by Emperor Heraclius to fight against the Avars.[9] There is a recent opinion that they might have crossed the sea in Slavic small boats made from a single piece of wood (termed 'monoxils'), which were used in the sieges of Salonika and Constantinople in 614–16 and 626.[10] An experimental crossing undertaken by a modern expedition in traditional Narentan boats in 2010 proved this possible, though very challenging.[11] On the other hand, it is also possible that the Slavs at Siponto may have been employed by the Byzantines, who were interested in the town as an important port on the way leading from their possessions

[7] On Paul's motives for writing his *History of the Langobards* and the dating of his work see McKitterick, 'Paul the Deacon and the Franks', pp. 319–40.

[8] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV, ch. 44, ed. by Waitz, p. 170.

[9] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 29, p. 125, ch. 30, p. 143 and ch. 31, p. 149. Guillou's opinion is presented in: 'Migration et présence Slaves en Italie du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle', p. 15; Guillou and Tchérémissinoff, 'Note sur la culture arabe et la culture Slave dans le katépanat d'Italie', p. 678.

[10] Kozličić, *Hrvatsko brodovlje*, pp. 45–47.

[11] Puljan, 'Lađom preko Jadrana', pp. 16–23.

in Calabria towards Ravenna and Pentapolis. The expedition at Siponto took place at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Constans II, who showed more interest in Southern Italy than any other Byzantine emperor since Justinian.[12] In any case, since the Slavs were defeated by Radoald, their settlement was no longer possible.

Another occasion that brought Slavs to Southern Italy was the siege of Bari in 869–71. The city was in the hands of Arabs at the time and Slavs from the eastern Adriatic coast participated in the siege as the subjects of two emperors: Louis II of the Franks and Basil I of Byzantium.[13]

For the purposes of this article, however, it is more intriguing to consider the conquest of Siponto by a *rex Sclavorum* ('king of the Slavs') named Michael in July 926,[14] mentioned in the Annals of Bari.[15] King Michael can be identified as a ruler of Hum, the area between the Neretva river and the city of Dubrovnik, known as Michael, son of Višeta. The reasons for this ruler's attack are not altogether clear. Michael, son of Višeta, known in the Croatian and other South Slavic historiography as Michael Višević, is an interesting character, much neglected by the historiography dealing with the history of South Slavs, although he appears to have been an important figure at the eastern Adriatic coast during the struggles of Byzantium against Simeon, emperor of the Bulgarians, in the first half of the tenth century. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was informed that his family stemmed from the illustrious kindred of Litciki, from the old Slavic homeland: the area of the Vistula River in Poland. As a Byzantine ally/subject, he had received the titles of *antipatos* and

[12] On the Byzantines as instigators of this expedition see: Goldstein, *Bizant na Jadranu*, pp. 146–48.

[13] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 29, pp. 126–29. The use of Slavs on the Eastern Adriatic coast against the opponents of the Byzantine emperor, in this particular case by Leo III against the rebels in Sicily in 718, has been suggested by Živković, 'The Strategos Paul and the *Archontes of the Westerners*', pp. 161–76.

[14] We do not know for certain how the Christian names of many Slavic people were pronounced in the vernacular during the medieval period. For example, the *rex Sclavorum* referenced here may have been known as Mihajlo, Mihael, or Mihovil, all of which are in use in standard Croatian today. For this reason, such names are given in their modern English equivalents throughout this essay.

[15] I have used the critical edition *The Annales Barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii*, ed. by Churchill. The *Annales Barenses* date the conquest on 10 July 928 (p. 116) while *Annales Lupi Protospatharii* place it in July 926 (p. 126). The latter date is considered to be the correct one by the editor in his commentary (p. 202).

Map 11.1.
Connections between the East Adriatic and Southern Italy in the high Middle Ages (map by the author and Hrvoje Kekez).

patrikios.[16] However, he was also known as an ally of Byzantium's arch enemy in that period: Simeon, emperor of the Bulgarians, whom he was supplying with intelligence such as details of the meeting between the *strategos* of Dyrrachium, Leo Rhabduchus, and the Serbian ruler Peter Gojniković in 917.[17] Michael also handed over valuable hostages to Simeon, including Peter, son of the Venetian doge Ursus II Particiacus.[18] It is possible that Michael's attack on the Byzantine Siponto was connected to his alliance with Simeon. Another possibility is that Michael, who appears to have been independent in his politics, changed sides as suited his interests and, taking advantage of the Byzantines' unfortu-

[16] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 33, pp. 161–62.

[17] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 32, p. 157.

[18] According to Venetian chronicler Giovanni Diacono, it was Michael, styled as *dux Sclavorum* ('prince of the Slavs'), who captured the Doge's son and handed him to Bulgarian king Simeon. This probably happened in 912 or 913: Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria veneticorum*, ed. by Berto, III, ch. 40, p. 150.

nate circumstances, simply conducted the attack for the purpose of plundering. The attack was certainly well-timed, since the Langobard rulers were attacking Byzantine estates at the same time: Landulf of Capua and Benevento had invaded northern Apulia with the help of Spoleto, while the duke of Salerno, Guaimar II, had attacked the Byzantine estates in Lucania and Calabria. It took seven years for Byzantium to recover the lost estates. Finally, some scholars are of the opinion that Michael was actually recovering the city for the Byzantines after it had fallen into the hands of Atenulf, brother of Landulf of Capua, in 921.[19] Whatever the reason for the attack, it does not seem likely that as Guillou has suggested Michael entertained the idea of settling down in the area.[20]

These events raise the question of why Siponto, the same city in the south of the Gargano peninsula, was the target of both known Slavic invasions of South Italy.[21] A look at the map makes the reason rather obvious (Map 11. 1).

The spot was clearly suitable for crossing between the two Adriatic coasts; indeed, archaeological finds indicate that had been used for this purpose since prehistoric times.[22] The crossing touched upon the central Dalmatian islands: Korčula (Gk Korkyra Melaina, Lat. Corcyra Nigra, It. Curzola), Hvar (Gk Pharos, Lat. Pharia, It. Lesina), Lastovo (Gk Ladestanos, Lat. Augusta insula, It. Lagosta), and Palagruža (It. Pelagos) or Vis (Gk Issa, Lat./It. Lissa), Biševo (It. Busi), and the island of Svetac (Engl. 'Saint', the full name of the island being St Andrew). It also touched islands of the Tremiti archipelago before reaching the Gargano peninsula, with its famous medieval shrine of the Archangel Michael (San Michele de Monte Gargano).

The advantages of this route were well known to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who wrote in his work *De administrando imperio* that 'ὅτι εἰσὶν νησία ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τῆς Δελματίας μέχρι Βενεβενδοῦ πυκνὰ καὶ πάμπολλα, ὥστε μηδέποτε φοβεῖσθαι ἐκεῖσε κλύδωνα τὰ πλοῖα' ('under the control of Dalmatia there is a close-set and very numerous archipelago, extending as far as Beneventum, so that ships never fear to be overwhelmed

[19] This was suggested by Churchill in his commentaries on the texts of the annals: *The Annales Barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii*, ed. by Churchill, pp. 201–02. See here also an overview of other opinions on the matter.

[20] Guillou, 'Migration et présence Slaves en Italie du VI[e] au XI[e] siècle', p. 14.

[21] In the case of the attack against Bari, the Slavs were clearly not acting as an independent force, but within the forces of two empires.

[22] D'Ercole, 'Itinerari e scambi nell' Adriatico preromano (VIII–V sec. A. C.)'; Kozličić and Bratanić, 'Ancient Sailing Routes'.

in those parts').[23] Although in reality it cannot be said that the line of islands extends all the way to Benevento, it is true that the Adriatic islands come closest to the Italian coast in this area. Besides, it is here that the sea currents are most suitable for the crossing. Old maps and archaeological excavations show that the western Adriatic coast in this area was far more hospitable for navigation and anchorage in the past than it is today, when it has become sandy and flat in many places. For example, the lake of Varano in the northern part of Gargano may have been only a gulf until the late sixteenth century.[24] The crossing was, moreover, particularly close to the land of the Narentan Slavs, who had settled in the area between the rivers Cetina and Neretva (Narenta) and the islands lying on the way to Italy, the closest to the Gargano peninsula being the island of Lastovo, only one hundred and five kilometres away. Constantine Porphyrogenitus claimed that the Narentans did not rule over the islands of Vis and Lastovo in the tenth century, but it is certain that they possessed them some fifty years later.[25] By this time, a Slavic population had already settled on these islands. The navigation route towards the Italian coast was also convenient for the inhabitants of Hum, subjects of Michael Višević.

The Community on the Gargano Peninsula: Migrations

It is not, therefore, too surprising that, when we look for the possible traces of Slavic settlement in Italy, we find them on the peninsula of Gargano (Monte Gargano). Slavs are mentioned in several documents that form part of the cartulary of the monastery of Santa Maria, located on the nearby islands of Tremiti.[26] These documents deal with the estates in the surroundings of the abandoned church of Santa Maria de Calena on Gargano, which belonged to the Tremiti monastery. Some undoubtedly Slavic names appear in four of the eleventh-century documents. The first, dated to July 1023, mentions an estate

[23] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 29, pp. 138–39, 285–87.

[24] D'Ercole, 'Itinerari e scambi'; Kozličić and Bratanić, 'Ancient Sailing Routes'.

[25] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 36, p. 165; Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria veneticorum*, ed. by Berto, IV, pp. 186–94.

[26] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, I–III, ed. by Petrucci. Prior to this 1960 edition, certain documents concerning individuals with Slavic names had been transcribed by Miho Barada, a leading Croatian palaeographer, and later edited by Branimir Gušić in 'Naše primorje (historijsko-geografska studija)', pp. 51–53, n. 398. Some Slavic names in Barada's transcription differ from Petrucci's.

that Leo, archbishop of Siponto, bought for the monastery of Santa Maria on Tremiti from 'Stane Gypto filius Lilii' (Stane Gipto, son of Lil or Ljiljo); a land plot purchased from 'Malexha' (Maleša), 'Benckanego' (Većaneg), 'filii Nesscedragi' (son of Nežedrag), and 'Lastaka filius Milstrimiro' (Lastaka, son of Milstrimir); another that he bought from 'Gaidavito' (Gajdavit), 'Negazzai' (Negočaj), 'Vittadrago' (Vitadrag), and 'fi(lio) Striadragi' (son of Strijadrag); and eventually one obtained from the aforementioned Gajdavit. All these estates were in the environs of the abandoned church of Santa Maria.[27]

In another document from June 1043, a priest and his brother, 'Skypizo et Lupulo viri germani, filii Sberagni' ('brothers Skypizo and Lupulo, sons of Sberanja'), from the area of the city of Devia, sold a land plot to Leo, provost of the monastery of Santa Maria, which at that time was a *cella* (monastic cell) of Santa Maria on Tremiti. It is probable that this was the same church that was mentioned in the document from 1023, but restored from its former abandoned state. The transaction was performed in the presence of *iupanus* (Cr. župan, a title referring to the head of a county in Croatian and other Slavic languages) 'Andreas' (Andrew) and other good people. In the company of Leo, there was an advocate of Santa Maria called Sarian (or Strian, as Barada has read it, which appears more Slavic). The price was a ram to the value of three *miliarii*.[28] In the third document, dating from March 1053, 'Tripo, filius Stephanicelco et Georgi filius Michali et Tachamiro filius Trepazzi' (Tripo, son of Stefaničelo, together with George, son of Mihalj, and Tahamir, son of Trepac) from the area of 'castello Pesclizzo' (Peschici) made, for the sake of their souls, a donation of their own church of St Mary in the area of 'Calenella minor', probably so-called in order to differentiate it from Santa Maria de Calena. Along with the church, they donated some vineyards and people who belonged to the lands, to the monastery of Santa Maria by the sea (that is, the Santa Maria de Calena of the document from 1023), near Devia. This was done in the presence of the *iupanus* of Devia, 'Glubizzo' (Ljubic), and other 'good people'. These good people mentioned at the end of the document next to the *iupanus* were 'Laccla' (or Baccla as Barada has read it, probably for Lačla), 'Sariano' (or Strian in Barada's version), and 'Ibani fi(lii) Polcagni' (Ivan, son of Polkanj). 'Michali filius Braccla'

[27] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 8, p. 26.

[28] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 32, pp. 101–04.

(Mihalj, son of Bračla), is mentioned as the middleman.[29] Devia, like Peschici, is mentioned as a *castellum*, which in this period usually meant a fortified small town or village.[30] In October that year, the same *iupanus* Ljubico was present when a certain 'Sariano filio Drobagna' (Sarian, son of Drobanj, perhaps the one mentioned in the last document as a witness) gave, on his deathbed half of his house, a vineyard, two boats, and four pieces of land to the monastery of Santa Maria on Tremiti. Among his neighbours, the document mentions 'Simeoni filius [*sic*] Ibazza' (Simon, son of Ibac, perhaps Ivač), 'Draia filius [*sic*] Radavitti' (Draža?, son of Radavit), and 'Draia filius [*sic*] Ibanizi' (son of Ibanic, perhaps Ivanić), as well as an estate of Belesci (Beleš).[31]

In March 1054, Ljubic, Iban (most probably Ivan — Slavic for John), and Lačla are mentioned again. Together with others, they offered a portion of land to the church of Santa Maria. However, by this point in time there was also a certain Count Robert, son of Constans, 'de genere Normannorum' ('of the kindred of the Normans'), who was identified as the *senior* and *dominator* ('senior and ruler') of the city of Devia. Ljubico is most probably the man who bore the title of *iupanus* in the previous document.[32] Some of these names appear at the same time among the Croats and other Slavs of the eastern Adriatic, for example, Glubaz (Ljubac), Vekenego (Većeneg), Negozai (Negočaj), and Strian, among others.[33]

Judging by these documents, it can be established that in the first half of the eleventh century there were at least two settlements with an entirely or predominantly Slavic population in the Gargano peninsula. These settlements were termed *castrum* or *castellum*, which, as I have previously mentioned, could at that time mean a fortified village or perhaps a small town. The more important of these settlements was Devia, a settlement sometimes also referred to as

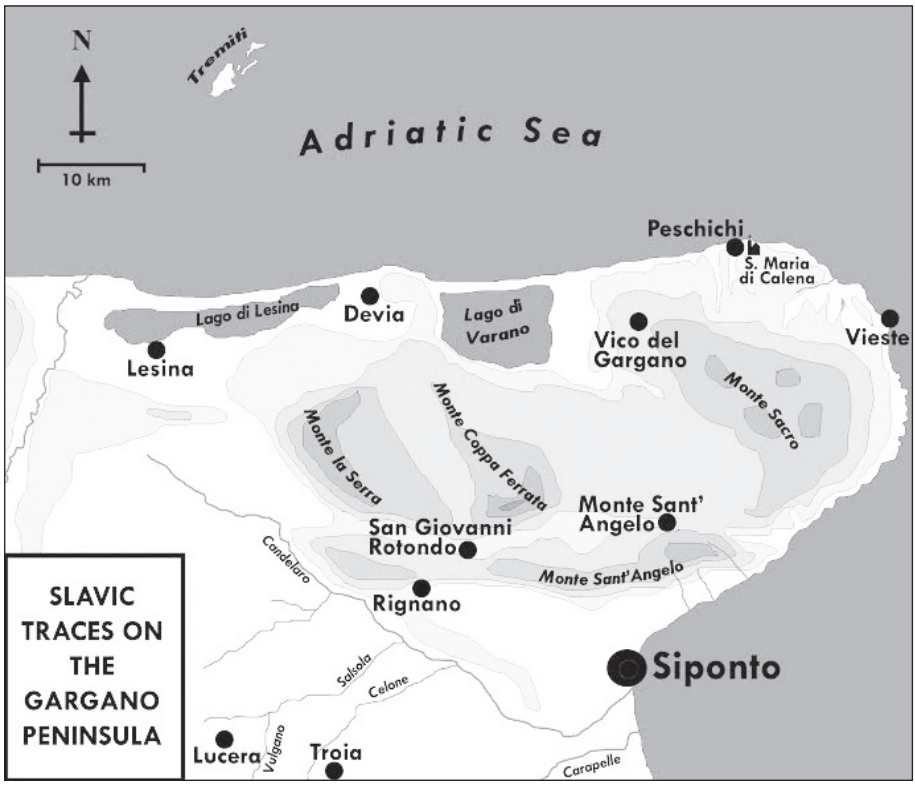
[29] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 47, pp. 150–53.

[30] Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 45, n. 99.

[31] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 48, pp. 153–56.

[32] Among the donors are listed 'Gluvizzo, filius Nicola et Ibano filius Polcagni et Laccla filius Sinogla et Urso filius Belcangco et Cosma filius Ibano Albo' ('Ljubico, son of Nicholas, Ivan, son of Polkanj, Lačla, son of Sinogla, Urso, son of Belkanjo, and Cosmas, son of Ivan the White'): *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 51, pp. 159–63.

[33] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. by Stipišić and Šamšalović, doc. 35, p. 52, doc. 98–99, pp. 132–33, doc. 136, p. 177, doc. 156, p. 196.



Map 11.2. Slavic traces on the Gargano Peninsula (map by the author and Hrvoje Kekez).

a *civitas*, situated between the lakes of Lesina and Varano but which no longer exists. The second identifiable settlement, thirty kilometres from Devia, was the *castellum* known as Peschici (Map 11.2).

It is particularly noteworthy that a *iupanus* is mentioned as the head of Devia. The fact that a Slavic official title that normally denoted the head of the county was used suggests that a form of self-governance was in operation among these communities. The *castellum* of Peschici was probably under the rule of the same *iupanus*. The first documented *iupanus* was Andrew (1043), followed by Ljubico (1053). At that time, the communities must have been under the sovereign rule of Byzantium, since in 1043 a *turmarch* is mentioned in the area, that is, an official of a lesser rank than *strategos* in the Byzantine *theme*.[34]

[34] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 32, pp. 101–04, doc. 47, pp. 150–53.

In October 1054, however, Devia fell into the Norman hands; after that date Count Robert is mentioned as its ruler. Robert, in turn, was subject to 'Gualterius' (Walter), son of Amicus, who ruled the town of Lesina, situated by the lake of the same name.[35] It is interesting that twenty years later (1074), one of Walter's sons, Amicus II, would undertake an expedition to Dalmatia in an attempt to conquer it, and during that enterprise he would take the Croatian king prisoner.[36] It is possible that Amicus, in his desperate attempt to create a better position for himself in the area, which was at that time dominated by his cousin, Duke Robert Guiscard,[37] became interested in the eastern Adriatic as a consequence of his contacts with the Slavs in the area dominated by his family. In the 1050s, however, relations between the Norman lords and the local Slavic community do not appear to have been hostile; in 1054 Count Robert appears with the former *iupanus* Ljubic and his people as the donor of the church of Santa Maria by the sea at Devia. Nonetheless, the Norman conquest appears to have brought about the end of Slavic self-rule at Gargano. The title of *iupanus* is not mentioned in this document or afterwards.

Enigmatic Immigrants

All of this, however, raises a further question: who were these Slavs and when did they settle at Monte Gargano? André Guillou considered their settlement as a consequence of the intervention, discussed above, of Michael Višević in 926, which he explained as a result of the occupation of Michael's land by the Bulgarian emperor Simeon. Since Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus named them Serbs, Guillou also considered them as such, and in another article he even suggested that they may have been fugitives from Rascia, perhaps fleeing from Simeon in the first quarter of the tenth century.[38] Some Serbs, the ruling family included, are known to have fled from Simeon into Croatia at the

[35] Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 101.

[36] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, I, ed. by Stipišić and Šamšalović, docs 107–08, pp. 136–39. On the family see: Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischen Herschaft in Süditalien*, pp. 181–200. On Amicus's Dalmatian enterprise see: Babudri, 'Il conte Amico di Giovinazzo: la sua impresa adriatica e la marineria apulo-normanna', pp. 103–37.

[37] Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 235, 237–41.

[38] Guillou, 'Migration et présence Slaves en Italie du VI^{e} au XI^{e} siècle', pp. 14–15; Guillou and Tchérémissinoff, 'Note sur la culture arabe et la culture Slave dans le katépanat d'Italie', p. 678; Guillou, 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou Byzantins en Italie méridionale', pp. 157–58.

time, but there is no evidence that any of them crossed or intended to cross the Adriatic.[39] Branimir Gušić has raised the question of whether the Gargano settlers may have arrived there in the tenth century, and the same period of time is suggested by Ferdo Gestrin, a Slovenian scholar who has written extensively about the Slavic settlement in South Italy during the late Middle Ages.[40] Jean-Marie Martin has argued that the settlers were more probably Narentan Slavs and not those of Hum, since the islands dominated by the Narentans are closest to the coast of Gargano. In his opinion, whereas the previous Slavic invasions of the Italian coast had left no trace of settlement, this migration was the consequence of a raid undertaken by the Macedonian-Bulgarian ruler Samuilo (Samuel) along the eastern Adriatic coast.[41] Finally, it should be mentioned that the seventeenth-century scholar Pompeo Sarnelli left a note to the effect that the villages of Vico and Peschici were founded by Slavs who, under the command of a certain 'Sueripolo Capitano' (Captain Zveripolj?), defeated the 'Saracens' invading Gargano in 970. Invited by Emperor Otto I, they were afterwards rewarded with land on the peninsula.[42]

I would, however, suggest an alternative occasion — or, more accurately, series of occasions — for settlement, in a period chronologically closer to the actual traces of the Gargano Slavs in the documents. These are the Venetian expeditions directed against the Croats and other Slavs of the eastern Adriatic at the time of Doge Pietro (Peter) II Orseolo (991–1009). Since the Croatian ruler, most probably Krešimir III, threatened the Venetians, the doge sent six ships under the command of Badovarius Bragadinus, who conquered a town by the name of Issa and brought captives of both sexes with him to Venice.[43] The island of Vis (Gr. Issa; Lat./It. Lissa), with its main settlement Issa, comes to mind as the probable target of this expedition. This raises the question of whether the men and women of Issa were the Slavic people who later settled on the Gargano peninsula, visited by the Doge's navy a few years afterwards. While the evidence is suggestive, however, it must be recognized that the identifica-

[39] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Moravcsik, ch. 32, p. 159.

[40] Gušić, 'Naše primorje', p. 51; Gestrin, 'Migracije Slovanov v Italijo', p. 10.

[41] Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, pp. 505–06.

[42] Pompeo Sarnelli, *Cronologia de' vescovi et arcivescovi sipontini*, p. 111; Rohlfs, 'Ignote colonie slave sulle coste del Gargano', p. 413, n. 2. With the exception of Rohlfs, none of the aforementioned scholars mentions Sarnelli's anecdote. It is uncertain whether this is Sarnelli's construction, an interpretation based on unidentified sources, or both.

[43] Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria veneticorum*, ed. and trans. in Italian by Berto, IV, ch. 40, p. 184.

tion of Vis with Issa has been challenged by some on the grounds that, in the period concerned, the island was not under the rule of a Croatian prince.[44]

Whatever the identity of the Issa concerned here, its conquest increased hostilities between the Venetians and the Slavs, which led to the great naval expedition of Doge Pietro II Orseolo (*c.* 1000) on the pretext of freeing his subjects from paying tribute to the Slavs along the Istrian and Dalmatian coast.[45] The only substantial resistance was put up by the *improbi* ('impudent') inhabitants of the island of Lastovo, who, according to the contemporaries, were notorious pirates. Finally, the Doge succeeded in destroying their fortified centre, forcing the survivors to swear that they would give up piracy in the future.[46] The island of Lastovo, we should note, is only about a hundred kilometres away from Peschici and it is the closest of all Dalmatian islands to the western Adriatic coast. It is not impossible that the survivors of Lastovo, after the destruction of their fort, settled at the relatively nearby western Adriatic coast or were settled there by the doge in order to make sure they would not continue with their piracy. Doge Pietro Orseolo had connections to this part of Southern Italy; the Venetian navy helped liberate the Byzantine town of Bari from the Sicilian Muslims, who besieged it in 1002. This expedition is commemorated by a graffito in a cave on the little island near Vieste on Gargano.[47] Since the doge had mobilized Dalmatian men into his navy during his expedition to Dalmatia two years before, it is possible that some of them were among the settlers of Gargano. Nowadays, it is generally accepted that Orseolo's expedition along the eastern Adriatic coast was conducted with the agreement of the Byzantine authorities, since Byzantium was embroiled in a struggle with the Bulgarian Emperor Samuilo at the time. The extent of cooperation between the Byzantines and the Venetians is also witnessed by the liberation of Bari in 1002.[48] It is possible, then, that the settlement of Slavs on the Gargano peninsula could have formed an intentional component of Byzantine defence policy:

[44] For this reason Chissa on the island of Pag has been suggested, and generally accepted, as a likely candidate for Issa in this instance: Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, p. 195; Margetić, 'Le cause della spedizione veneziana', p. 243.

[45] The main source for the Orseolo expedition along the eastern Adriatic coast that involved Istrian and Dalmatian towns is his secretary Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria veneticorum*, ed. by Berto, IV, pp. 186–94. On the expedition see: *Venezia e la Dalmazia*, ed. by Fiorentin.

[46] Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria veneticorum*, ed. by Berto, IV, chs 53–54, pp. 193–94.

[47] Ortalli, 'Pietro II Orseolo, dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum', pp. 24–27.

[48] Ortalli, 'Pietro II Orseolo, dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum', pp. 13–27.

Figure 11.1. Church of sv. Silvestar (St Sylvester), Biševo (photo by the author).

an attempt at strengthening the defences in an area that they had only acquired in the last decades of the tenth century.[49]

Other evidence, moreover, is suggestive of connections between the settlers of Gargano and the Narentans. We find such a connection witnessed by another document preserved in the cartulary of the monastery on Tremiti. It is a donation made by a certain priest and monk 'Iohannes, presbyter et monachus, filius cuiusdam Gaudii, qui supra nomen Cherlicco uocatur, de ciuitate Spalato' (John, priest and monk, son of Gaudius, called Hrlac, from the city of Split).[50] John built a church dedicated to St Sylvester on the small island of Biševo near Vis, and in the 1050s decided to offer himself and his donation to the monastery of Tremiti with the acceptance and in the presence of *rex* or *iudex Marianorum* (king or judge of the Morjans) Berigoj. Although

[49] Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 32–33.

[50] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 42, pp. 134–35; *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. by Stipišić and Šamšalović, doc. 58, pp. 78–79.

Guillou has connected this title to a place called Varano on Gargano, it is in fact the title held by the ruler of the Narentans or perhaps the Narentan islands (probably coming from the Slavic word for sea, 'more').[51] The presence of a Narentan ruler on Tremiti and the connection with the monastery may point to a link between the Narentan islands and the settlers of Gargano. The church still exists in Biševo, and archaeological excavations in the 1990 revealed a man's grave before the main altar. It may be the founder, the priest John, whose memorial plate with an inscription (MEMENTO DNE IOHS PPO) was found as a *spolium* in the renovated church (Figure 11.1).

Settlers in their New Homeland

The documents, discussed above, from the Tremiti monastery show that the Slavic settlers mixed with the local population, accepting their customs. For instance, they show that the settlers' wives had a right to one fourth of their husbands' possessions, in accordance with the Langobard law of *Morgengabe* ('morning gift').[52] On the other hand, Martin, author of an immense monograph on Puglia, suggests that the use of rams as a means of payment, as specified in the cartulary of the monastery of Santa Maria (Tremiti), is unique in the entire region. Martin also notices instances of joint ownership by brothers and cousins among the Puglian Slavs.[53] These features indicate that the Slavic community also managed to keep certain of their legal customs in the new environment.

Slavic influence and assimilation has also left its traces on personal names, place names, and in the local lexicon. Some Slavic names appear in places such as Rignano (for example, Malgerius de Radeslavo, 1183) and Vico del Gargano.[54] While Martin is of the opinion that these Slavic names may have simply been in fashion for a while, it is surely more likely that they were preserved through

[51] Guillou, 'Migration et présence Slaves en Italie du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle', pp. 14–15; Guillou, 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou Byzantins en Italie méridionale?', p. 157; Guillou and Tchérémissinoff, 'Note sur la culture arabe et la culture Slave dans le katépanat d'Italie', p. 678; Fuiano, 'La colonia slava di Devia nel corso del secolo XI', p. 43. Martin corrected the mistake made by Guillou and Fuiano: Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, p. 505, n. 97.

[52] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 32, p. 103, doc. 47, p. 151.

[53] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 32, p. 103; Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, p. 507.

[54] *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, ed. by Camobreco, docs 1, 22, 30, 47.

tradition in families with Slavic antecedents.[55] Due to intermarriage with other peoples of Southern Italy, the Slavs seem to have been assimilated by the twelfth century and this too seems to be suggested by some records of personal names. In Vieste, in 1152/1153, there is a mention of a man called Robertus Sclavus acting as a legal representative of the monastery on Tremiti, a combination that suggests an interesting mixture of Norman and Slavic heritage.[56]

Slavic traces are also visible in place names on the Gargano peninsula. First of all, there is the name of the littoral village of Peschici (*castellum Pesclizzo* in 1053). The literal meaning of this in Croatian would be 'small sands', which is in accordance with the geological appearance of the area. As Gerhard Rohlfs, an expert in the languages and dialects of South Italy has pointed out, there is also a connection between the Slavic name for the island of Hvar, Lesina, and the important Gargano settlement of Lesina, mentioned in 1023.[57] The place name derives from the Slavic word for forest: 'les'.[58] Traces of early Slavic presence can also be found in place names in the areas surrounding Gargano. A Via Sclavenesca appears in 1093 in Castellum Novum in the western part of the diocese of Troia. A 'Terra qui vocat castellutzo de ipsi Dalmatini' ('a land that those Dalmatians call *kašteluco*' (a small fortification or fortified settlement)) is mentioned in Balsignano in Bari as early as 962,[59] as is a 'Lama de Sclavis' ('marshland of the Slavs') in Terlizzi in 1153, 1155, and 1220.[60] San Vito 'degli Schiavoni' or 'degli Schiavi' ('of the Slavs'), which is mentioned in the fourteenth century near Brindisi, changed its name into San Vito 'dei Normanni' ('of the Normans') as late as 1860.[61]

There are also some indications that Slavs had also settled in the counties of Abruzzi and Molise, which in the later Middle Ages would receive many more migrants from the opposite coast. The earliest traces in place names can

[55] Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, pp. 505–08.

[56] Guillou, 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou Byzantins en Italie méridionale?', p. 157; *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. by Petrucci, doc. 106, p. 107.

[57] Rohlfs, 'Ignote colonie slave sulle coste del Gargano', p. 410.

[58] The Italian name of the island is Lesina, which derives from the Slavic word for wood ('les' or 'lesna'), while the Croatian name is Hvar, which comes from the name of Greek name for the colony, Pharos, under the Roman rule called Pharia and later Fara.

[59] *Codice diplomatico barese*, IV, ed. by Nitti di Vito, doc. 2, p. 5.

[60] *Codice diplomatico barese*, III, ed. by Carabellese, doc. 71, p. 92, doc. 73, p. 94, doc. 207, p. 226. See also: Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, p. 508, n. 126.

[61] Rohlfs, 'Ignote colonie slave sulle coste del Gargano', p. 411, n. 1.

be found in the area of Trivento (around Chieti) at the end of the tenth century, while later, in the twelfth century, we find 'Rocca de Sclavis' ('fort of the Slavs') on the coast, 'contrada Sclavorum' ('district of the Slavs') and 'Fons de Slavia' ('Slavic well') in 1203 in the territory of Termoli, and other names in the same vein.[62] As has already been mentioned, there are also traces of Slavic onomastics in Bari, Rignano, Vico del Gargano, and Vieste.[63] As a consequence of patterns in the inheritance of names, these names could endure for a long time after assimilation and the disappearance of a distinct Slavic identity. By analogy, names of Greek or Byzantine origin, such as Agapi, remained in use in the city of Zadar on the eastern Adriatic coast as late as the fourteenth century, almost three hundred years after the end of Byzantine rule over the city.[64]

In addition to these traces in personal and place names, scholars have also looked to language more generally for evidence of the influence of immigration. While studying the dialects of Gargano in the 1940s and 1950s, Rohlfs recognized around seventeen words of Slavic origin. These were concentrated particularly in Peschici, but also occurred in certain other nearby places, such as San Giovanni Rotondo and Vico. For example, the Croatian word *skakavac* ('grasshopper') is almost identical with Garganic *scazcavázzə*. Other words also show traces of Slavic, such as the words for a little girl (*ciúrcia* = Cr. *curica*), the worm (*langlistə* = Cr. *glista*), different kinds of lizards (*vúschərə*, *salambachə* = Cr. *gušter*, *zelembać*), the coast, and the snail (*pugghiáca* = Cr. *puž*). There are even differences in pronunciation in different parts of Gargano: skirt (Cr. *suknja*) is pronounced *sciúcchə* in Peschici, *sciáuchə* in Vico, and *sciúcchələ* in San Giovanni Rotondo. According to Rohlfs, who was not acquainted with the historical sources that mention Slavs in the eleventh century at the time he identified these words, changes that the words of Slavic origin had gone through suggested that they must be older than the dialect of the region of Molise, which is spoken by the descendants of Croatian refugees who fled from

[62] Aquilano, 'Insediamenti, popolamento e commercio nel contesto costiero abruzzese e molisano', p. 72.

[63] Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, pp. 505–08.

[64] 1302: *Notariorum Jadrensium Johannis Qualis Nicolai quandam Johannis Gerardi di Padua acta quae supersunt*, ed. by Stipišić and Zjačić, doc. 94, pp. 40–41; 1325: *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, IX, ed. by Smičiklas, doc. 211, pp. 259–60; 1352: '*Curia maiorum ciuilium* — najstariji sačuvani registar građanskih parnica srednjovjekovnog Zadra', ed. by Ravančić, docs 55, 57, pp. 140–41, 143–44; 1355: *Andreas condam Petri de Canturio, notarius Iadre*, II, ed. by Leljak and Kolanović, doc. 151, p. 228. In every case, the document concerns a different person of that name.

Ottoman raids in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[65] That the place name Peschici belongs to the time of earlier Slavic settlement has also been recognized by the Croatian linguist Petar Šimunović.[66] Early Slavic traces on the language and place names of Gargano, then, survived for a long time, even though the assimilation of eleventh-century settlers had already been completed by the end of the twelfth century, and despite the later arrivals of refugees at the time of the Ottoman invasions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since relatively few traces are left of these later, more numerous migrations (the dialect is nowadays spoken only in three villages), it is quite significant that the linguistic traces of earlier migrations have managed to survive through time.[67] By the seventeenth century, the two traditions — that of the speakers of the dialect with old Slavic influences in Vico and Peschici (at that time certainly stronger than at the time of Rohlfs's studies), and that of the more recent settlers who fled from the Ottoman threat — had become somewhat conflated. As we saw earlier, Pompeo Sarnelli's seventeenth-century narrative identified the Slavs in Vico and Peschici as descended from those who came to fight 'the Saracens' in the late tenth century.[68]

Other Slav Migrations in South Italy: Friends and Foes of the Normans

The presence of Slavic settlers can be observed in other regions of South Italy in the high Middle Ages. Sixty Slavs are recorded as foot-soldiers in the company of Robert Guiscard at the beginning of his career in Calabria in the late

[65] Rohlfs, 'Ignote colonie slave sulle coste del Gargano', pp. 409–13. On the Molisan Croats and their dialect see: *Sime do simena / Il seme dal seme / Sjeme od sjemena*, ed. by Sammartino.

[66] Šimunović, *Hrvatska prezimena*, p. 366, n. 83.

[67] All these late medieval settlers are sometimes called the Molisan Croats, for example by the Jesuit Jakov Mikalja (Giacomo Micaglia, Jacobus Micalia, John son of Michael), a native of Peschici (1600–54, Loreto). Mikalja was the author of *Blago jezika slovinskoga / Thesaurus lingua illyricae*, which contains the first Italian grammar in the Croatian language as well as a Slavic-Latin-Italian dictionary, considered to be the first published dictionary of Croatian. He was almost certainly a descendant of refugees from the Eastern Adriatic coast who fled before the Ottomans and not of the early medieval settlers. In his dictionary, he mentions Pještica as a Slavic name for Peschici (Lat. Pescutium). This is another Slavic dialect, which Mikalja took as a standard for his dictionary and which is also today the standard Croatian language. On Mikalja see: Horvat, 'I lessicografi gesuiti del Seicento tra le due sponde: Bartol Kašić-Cassius-Cassio (Pag, 1575–1650, Roma) e Jakov Mikalja-Mica(g)lia (Peschici, 1601–1654, Loreto)'.

[68] Pompeo Sarnelli, *Cronologia de' vescovi et arcivescovi sipontini*, p. 111.

1040s and early 1050s, at the time when he was merely one of the Norman war-lords trying to make his fortune in Southern Italy. The importance of these men for the Norman leader can be seen in the testimony of monk and chronicler Geoffrey Malaterra, who wrote that 'quos quasi fratres fidelissimos sibi benefactis et majoribus promissis effecerat' ('by giving them gifts and promising them even more in the future, he had practically transformed them into brothers').[69] After testing their loyalty in a nocturnal ambush, Robert Guiscard promoted them from foot-soldiers to cavalry. The military skill and strength of the Slavic settlers is also mentioned in Sicily in 1079, when they threatened the life of Robert's brother, Duke Roger, during his siege of Taormina.[70] Since in both of these occasions the Slavs acted as military units, this may indicate that their numbers were not insignificant in these regions, although there are no preserved sources that would offer information on their settlements or possible self-government, such as there are for the community in the Gargano peninsula. Nonetheless, one cannot dismiss the possibility that there were some other, similarly organized communities of immigrant Slavs, although it is not clear whether they also would have come from the eastern Adriatic. The ancestors of the Calabrese Slavs who were Guiscard's soldiers might have been brought from the Peloponnese as part of the colonization of Emperor Basil I in the late ninth century.[71]

Finally, the most significant Slavic participant in the Norman conquest of South Italy in the second half of the eleventh century would have been Gradilon, brother-in-law of the Norman leader Abelard de Hauteville, who is considered Slavic by some historians of Southern Italy because of his name. Gradilon participated in a rebellion against Abelard's uncle, Duke Robert Guiscard, and was blinded and castrated as a punishment for his involvement in the rebellion of 1079, though Robert spared most of the other, Norman participants.[72] The

[69] *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius auctore Gaufredo Malaterra*, ed. by Pontieri, ch. 16, p. 16; trans. Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, trans. by Wolf, p. 63; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 111.

[70] *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, ch. 1. 16, p. 64; ch. 3. 15, p. 146.

[71] Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell' Italia meridionale dal IX all' XI secolo*, p. 26. The ethnic identity of the colonists from the Peloponnese is not specified.

[72] *Guillaume de Pouille. La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. by Mathieu, II, 192, 198; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 242–43.

harshness of Gradilon's punishment may perhaps be attributed to the fact that he was held to be a native of the land rather than Robert's Norman kin.

Conclusion

The presence of Slavs on western Adriatic coast of South Italy can be ascertained soon after the settlement on the eastern shore, although the sources speak only of isolated war campaigns. Nevertheless, toponymic and onomastic traces indicate the presence of Slavs in a wider area of Southern Italy, suggestive of migrations that were taking place during the period of early and high Middle Ages. For the beginning of the eleventh century, we can even speak of organized colonization, most likely by the Narentan Slavs, at Gargano, which resulted in at least two *castella* — Devia and Peschici — with a predominantly Slavic population, governed by a *iupanus*. Their self-government ended with the arrival of the Normans in 1054, which probably contributed to the already ongoing assimilation. As for the other Slavs mentioned in the sources, such as those who fought for Robert Guiscard in northern Calabria, it is possible that not all of them originated from the eastern Adriatic coast. They may have been brought there by the Byzantine authorities in order to consolidate their rule against the Muslims or the Langobards. Of all the Slavs mentioned in South Italian sources of the period, it is only the Garganic community that presents some evidence of self-governance, as well as leaving traces of their presence in the local dialect that have survived into the twentieth century. This could mean that the eleventh-century settlement of Slavs at Gargano was more significant than the mere handful of documents mentioning them may suggest. The presence of a *iupanus* shows that the Gargano settlement was an organized and compact community, which is another indication to support the hypothesis that they came or were brought there as a group rather than individual settlers. In view of the evidence set out here, I suggest that the Gargano Slavs did indeed arrive in Gargano as a group, and that their place of origin was the island of Lastovo, only about a hundred kilometres away from the Gargano coast. These settlers were probably brought to Gargano or persuaded to move by the Venetian Doge Pietro II Orseolo on his campaign of 1000, in order to ensure that they did not continue with their piracy.

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Ex partibus orientalibus translata ad hanc urbem: The Evacuation of Elements of Church Decoration from Pera to Genoa in 1461

Rafał Quirini-Popławski

Introduction: The Genoese Colony of Pera and its Churches

The activity of the Genoese in the East constituted one of the major chapters in the history of medieval international trade. Their activity in Constantinople, which all but ceased after the year 1204 as a consequence of the Fourth Crusade, revived following the signing of the Nimfeos Treaty (1261) and subsequent Greek re-conquest of Constantinople. This treaty granted the Genoese Republic freedom to trade in Byzantine territories, as well as the right to set up their own quarters in the most important trading ports of the empire, including Constantinople. In the wake of these resolutions, after 1267 the Genoese colony of Pera developed dynamically on the northern side of the Golden Horn, opposite the Byzantine capital. Although it was located within the boundaries of the thirteenth Region of Constantinople, the Genoese government had autonomous control over it.[1] Pera grew and expanded in stages; in 1303 the

[1] Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIII^e siècle*, pp. 89, 95, 277–87; Sauvaget, 'Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra', pp. 252–55; Balard, *La Romanie*

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Figure 12.1. Istanbul, church of S. Paolo (S. Domenico), now Arap Camii. Built in the first half of the fourteenth century. Renovated in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and in 1868 and 1915. Interior to the east. (Photo by Rafał Quirini-Popławski.)

territory of its former suburbs were incorporated into the colony and on the 18 July 1304, the Genoese obtained the right to erect defensive walls. The successive enlargements of its territory were officially sanctioned in 1352 and in 1387, when two vast suburbs, namely Lagirio and Spiga, were incorporated into the colony.[2]

The colony, of course, required provision for its spiritual and pastoral needs. Even during the early period of the colony's development, before 1304, the first

génoise, pp. 182, 184–86; Stringa, *Genova e la Liguria nel Mediterraneo*, p. 363; Balard, *Łaciński Wschód XI–XV wiek*, pp. 233–35.

[2] Sauvaget, 'Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra', pp. 255, 259, 261–65; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, pp. 186, 188, 190–92; Stringa, *Genova e la Liguria nel Mediterraneo*, pp. 364–65.

Latin churches began to appear in Pera.[3] Over the course of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century their number increased considerably, with the result that, at the time of the colony's seizure by the Turks in 1453, there were at least eighteen Latin churches within the walls of Pera. These were: the Cathedral of San Michele, situated within *Platealonga* or central district of Pera, the monastic churches of Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna (Benedictine), San Francesco, Santa Caterina, Santa Chiara, the Dominican church of San Paolo (called also San Domenico), Santi Pietro e Paolo, and the Monastery of the Friars Minor (Observants), most probably also with a church. Other churches included those of Sant'Anna, Sant'Elena, Sant'Irene, San Giovanni Battista, San Clemente, San Giorgio, Santa Maria (Santa Maria Draperis?), San Nicola, San Sebastiano, and the church of Sant'Antonio's Hospice.[4] The largest church was the Dominican shrine of San Paolo (San Domenico), established in the first half of the fourteenth century (Fig.12.1), and still in existence today.[5] Also still in existence today are the remains of Santa Maria (now St Benedict), reconstructed many times and originally Byzantine, then associated with the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna, founded on the 12 May 1427. During the Genoese period and probably before the mid-fifteenth century, the core of the extant tower (Fig. 12.2) was created, as well as the ogival portal supported by columns, which remained in existence until 1958.[6] However, while elements

[3] Sauvaget, 'Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra', pp. 255–56; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, pp. 182–83.

[4] Dalleggio D'Alessio, 'Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople'; Janin, *Les églises et le monastéres*, pp. 584–93; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, pp. 195–96; Eyice, 'Testimonianze genovesi in Turchia', pp. 66–68; Sezer Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul*, pp. 61–75.

[5] Sauvaget, 'Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra', p. 260 (fourteenth century); Loenertz, 'Les établissement dominicains de Péra-Constantinople', pp. 335–36 (after 1299); Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint Paul à Galata*, pp. 56–57, 88 (early fourteenth century, but after 1303); Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, p. 79 (1325); Eyice, 'Testimonianze genovesi in Turchia', p. 67 (first half of the fourteenth century); Cramer and Düll, 'Baubeobachtungen an der Arap Camii in Istanbul', pp. 311–13 (after 1315); Westphalen, 'Pittori greci nella chiesa domenicana dei Genovesi a Pera (Arap Camii)', p. 51 (first quarter of the fourteenth century, but after 1307).

[6] Dalleggio D'Alessio, 'Le monastère de Sainte Marie de la Miséricorde de la Citerne de Péra ou de Saint-Benoît', p. 63; Sauvaget, 'Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra', pp. 260–61; Eyice, 'Testimonianze genovesi in Turchia', p. 67; Polonio, 'Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna a Pera di Costantinopoli', p. 405; Sezer Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul*,

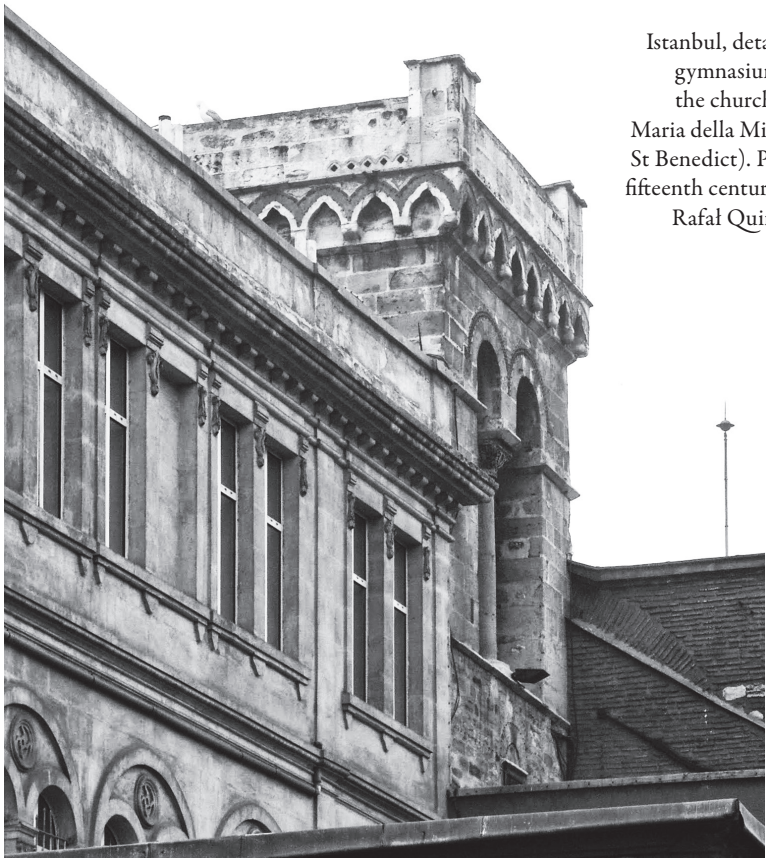

Figure 12.2. Istanbul, detail of the French gymnasium together with the church tower of Santa Maria della Misericordia (later St Benedict). Prior to the mid-fifteenth century (?). (Photo by Rafał Quirini-Popławski.)

of some of the external structures of Pera's churches survive today, these provide little clue as to the appearance and character of the furnishings in these churches' interiors.

With the conquest of Constantinople by the forces of Mehmed II in 1453, Pera and its Latin churches were perceived by the colonists to be under threat. Gradually, colonists arrived in Genoa. However, they showed the importance they attached to their church decorations by making arrangements to ship them to safety. This article makes use of a group of archival sources, in particular concerning a significant consignment of items shipped first to Chios for safekeeping, then to Genoa in 1461, to examine the characteristics and fates

pp. 160, 164. According to Niewöhner, both the tower and portal are parts of the original Byzantine building (see further discussion there): 'Saint Benoît in Galata', pp. 235–37.

of these evacuated artefacts. After outlining the circumstances surrounding the removal of artefacts, I focus below on documentary sources that detail the kinds of items removed, their destinations, the value they held, and the potential motivations behind their removal to Genoa. The article then traces, where possible, the subsequent histories of surviving artefacts. While early hopes of their return to their original churches in Pera faded along with Genoese hopes of return to their former colony, these objects' fifteenth-century destinations were not always their final homes.

The Seizure of Pera in 1453

When Constantinople, situated across the bay, was finally conquered by the Ottoman Turks on the 29 May 1453, the Genoese authorities of Pera submitted to Mehmed the Conqueror, without fighting, on the following day, trusting in an agreement signed earlier with this Turkish ruler, according to which the residents of the 'magnifica comunità di Pera' ('magnificent community of Pera') were to retain their property, churches and ships.[7] However, despite the signed agreement and Mehmed's *firman* (decree) issued on the basis of it, the Genoese began to remove objects from their churches.[8] This was carried out usually on the initiative of the families who were originally donors to the churches of Pera, and also by the protectors of the monastic churches. The objects followed those of the Latin population who had made the decision to emigrate from Pera, who probably carried away items of particular emotional importance to them and items that they feared might be desecrated. These processes are partly documented in the sources.[9]

One example of such an action was a transfer made by Marietta di Pagana, a daughter of Gaspare. The case exemplifies perfectly the kind of transfer that took place, the types of objects moved, as well as setting out the reasons for their movement and hinting at the kind of value such objects held for the Genoese colonists leaving Pera. Marietta arrived in Genoa directly from Pera at the beginning of 1456 and donated certain objects from the church of Santa

[7] Polonio,'Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna a Pera di Costantinopoli', p. 412; Balard, *Łaciński Wschód XI–XV wiek*, p. 328.

[8] This agreement was largely adhered to until the end of the fifteenth century.

[9] The basic documents concerning were published in *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 272–84, 336, 393–403. They have been discussed by Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', pp. 87–98, and Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 123–34.

Chiara in Pera to the Genoese church of San Domenico. As we learn from a document written in the sacristy, on the 17 January 1456, the items Marietta di Pagana donated had been purchased or made by Marietta personally. Given the situation in which Pera found itself, it became her desire that these objects should 'in loco sacro permanere eaque servire cultui divino' ('remain in a consecrated place and serve the worship of God').[10] However, in the event of the possible restoration of Genoese power over Pera, they were to be returned directly to the local church of Santa Chiara. The donation was received, on behalf of the church and monastery of San Domenico in Genoa by Father Domenico, Bishop of Famagusta (at that time a Genoese possession), and the monks of this monastery, the professors of theology Filippo de Opiciis (abbot of the endowed monastery), Desiderio de Rapallo and Bernardo de Salvaticis. The gift consisted mainly of robes, for the most part liturgical vestments, made of silk (*camocato*) in various colours, sometimes supplemented with golden thread. Among the motifs decorating them were the coats of arms of Genoa and of the Giustiniani and di Pagana families, plus also the inscription 'Mater Dei' in Greek letters. Also among the donations were two *blavias*, or small robes for 'maestà', trimmed with gold, and several silver vessels, including a paten and a gilded chalice with the Spinola family coat of arms.[11]

Similar steps were taken by the representatives of the monastic orders responsible for some of Pera's churches. It is known, for example, that the Dominicans residing at the church of S. Paolo (Fig. 12.1) removed relics and the most valuable objects of this church decoration to Genoa, while the religious archives were transferred to Caffa in the Crimea, which from that date onwards was the major Genoese colony in the Black Sea Basin.[12] Not all attempts to evacuate precious objects were successful, however. During the siege of Constantinople, Father Placido de Podio, the prior of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria della Misericordia (Fig. 12.2), organized the transport of the most precious relics and objects of worship to the then Genoese island of Chios. A detailed inventory of the two chests containing these objects has been preserved. It was written by Father Giovanni Battista de Tabia in the house of the same order of Chios in 1473 (with postscripts from 1475 and 1478) and in the presence of Father Giovanni Bartolomeo de Podio. Listed in the inventory are more than twenty precious fabrics, some of silk (*camocato*), many items decorated with

[10] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 272.

[11] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 272–73; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 127, 133.

[12] Janin, *Les églises et le monastéres*, p. 592.

gold thread, including chasubles and an altar *antependium*. Especially distinguished by its decoration was a group of robes featuring figural representations of the prophets, the Virgin Mary with Child among the angels, and two depictions of parrots. Another object was a cope with a hood, made of blue fabric, distinguished by its characteristic silver buckle adorned with semi-precious stones. Additionally, listed in the inventory are numerous other fabrics, liturgical vessels, twenty pieces of gilded copper *antependia* and three ostrich eggs.[13] In August 1478, most of the above-mentioned objects were submitted by Father Giovanni de Tabia to Pellegro de Marini, who received them on behalf of the prior Placido de Podio. The aim of this operation was to transport them from Chios to the monastery of S. Gerolamo della Cervara in Santa Margherita Ligure, near Genoa, which, like the monastery of Santa Maria della Misericordia in Pera, belonged to the congregation of St Justina in Padua. However, on 30 January 1481, the Doge of Genoa, Battista de Campofregoso, together with the Consiglio degli Anziani, sent a letter to the authorities of Chios, requiring that Pellegro de Marini, who had taken care of these items before, should hand them over to the keeping of Father Cipriano de Casanova, a representative of the monastery of Santa Maria della Misericordia in Pera. We may guess that, instead of finding sanctuary near Genoa, these objects found their way back to Pera.[14] This turmoil was most probably a reflection of a conflict that broke out in the years 1478 to 1486, involving the Franciscans and various other parties in Pera, over the acquisition of the former Benedictine monastery.[15]

The Transfer of Items from Chios to Genoa in 1461

Nonetheless, many other objects from the churches of Pera did find themselves on the Genoese island of Chios, although many through largely unknown circumstances. It seems likely that this was due to the actions of the representatives of those families who had been benefactors of particular churches in Pera who, like Marietta di Pagana, were concerned for their safe-keeping. It is likely that these items were sent to Chios, an island situated relatively close to Constantinople, to safely await further developments in the former Byzantine capital. However, in view of the Genoese colonists' fading hopes of an early return to the Golden Horn, it was decided to store them into two chests and

[13] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 400–02; Polonio, 'Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna a Pera di Costantinopoli', pp. 413–14.

[14] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 400–02.

[15] Janin, *Les églises et le monastéres*, p. 586.

two barrels, which, at the end of 1460, under the care of Benedetto Salvago, were loaded onto a ship belonging to one Luciano de Marini.[16] In early 1461, the ship put in at the port of Genoa, where the value of the items caused the intervention of the authorities of the Republic.[17]

On 23 January 1461, the Genoese *Signoria* authorized six *officiales* from the most illustrious families to carry out an extensive campaign of collecting together all the items which had been brought to Genoa on board Luciano de Marini's ship, wherever and with whoever they were to be found. These officials were to subsequently schedule the transfer of the items to churches to be selected within the metropolis, placing them 'in illis templis ubi eis melius videbitur' ('in those churches that seem to them most appropriate').[18] Those taking part were: Giacomo Bracelli, the chancellor of the Commune, Benedetto Salvago, Guirardo Spinola, Lodisio Franchi (de Bulgaro), Niccolò de Marini, and Marco Doria. *Officiales* were entitled to the reimbursement of any costs incurred while fulfilling this function. Since a condition included in the transfer of these items was the promise of their immediate and complete return in the event of the permanent regaining of Pera by Genoa, their transfer to any particular Genoese church was to be documented with an appropriately detailed list, which also included an estimated value of the individual items.[19] However, while these documents are of particular importance for us, they unfortunately do not include information concerning the specific churches from which the individual items had been taken.[20] Many of the relics mentioned below can be identified with those shown to the envoys of the King of Castile in 1403 in the church of San Francesco in Pera.[21]

[16] One may speculate that the Genoese had placed some hope in the anti-Turkish activities of Pope Callixtus III (1453–57), but finally lost it in 1460, with the Turkish conquest of Morea.

[17] Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 87; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 127–28. The latter author speculates that one reason for this intervention was that certain items had already been misappropriated.

[18] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 275.

[19] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 274–75; Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 87; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 127–28, 132. Guirardo Spinola and Benedetto Salvago were Levantine refugees, most probably from Pera.

[20] As one of the conditions of the transfer, documents containing information about the church of origin of individual objects should have been created, but these do not seem to have been preserved.

[21] *Dal mare di Alboran a Samarcanda*, ed. by Spinelli, pp. 103-06.

On 25 January the *officiales* asked Luciano de Marini to immediately transfer the two imported chests and two barrels, and on 9 February the authorities of the Republic ordered a Carthusian monk, Francesco Calvo, to return a breviary and other volumes which had been in his keeping at his place of dwelling.[22] However, it soon became apparent that the full realization of plans for these items was not going to be easy. The Franciscans and Dominicans expressed their concern that the items from their churches in Pera might find their way into the ordinary parish churches. Moreover, there was concern about the fact that no one knew who would cover the costs of their transportation to Genoa and any possible loss of value.[23] Thus, on 13 February, the authorities of Genoa approached Pope Pius II for help in the carrying out of this project, by giving his warranty to the people authorized for this task and confirming the propriety of the steps to be taken by them (particular attention was paid to the fate of the codices). In addition, he was also asked for permission to sell one of the thirty imported chalices to cover the expenses incurred by the *officiales*. At the same time, however, one of the group, Chancellor Giacomo Bracelli, asked the Apostolic Secretary, Bartolomeo di Framura, for permission to sell the less valuable items, though he does not seem to have ever received a response.[24] Finally, the administrators of the churches receiving the objects had to pay a deposit corresponding to the estimated value of the items. However, the problem was that the churches chosen by the *officiales* as the most needy, lacking in paraphernalia, were also the poorest. What was needed, therefore, was to find patrons willing to pay the appropriate sums of money for them, for which, in turn, the churches had to obtain appropriate consent of the archbishop.[25]

The Distribution of Loans to the Churches of Genoa

Almost all the items that reached Genoa from Pera's churches through Chios were distributed among the Genoese churches between June and December 1461. As Valeria Polonio has pointed out, the vast majority of objects from the churches of Pera found their way to Genoese monastic churches whose foundation dated no farther back than the late fourteenth

[22] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 275–76.

[23] Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', p. 128.

[24] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 276–77; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 128, 132.

[25] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 128.

century.[26] Thanks to the preserved documents, however, we can not only reconstruct their course in some detail but also describe the objects that were distributed to different churches. The records also detail the amount of deposit paid in security for the objects, providing a general indication of their value. This distribution is outlined in the following list.

1. On 19 June, eight councillors and eleven fellows of the *Devozione di San Giovanni* at the cathedral of Genoa authorized the two priors, Galeotto Lomellino and Niccolò Adorno-Campanaro, to accept items worth 750 lire, a gift that most likely took place on the next day. This was one of a few exceptional cases in which loans were not distributed to monastic churches. Thus, two decorative silver plates with images and Greek letters, one silver lamp and two candlesticks made of crystal and silver went to the chapel of St John the Baptist 'ad cultum et ornatum dicte capelle' ('for worship and the decoration of this chapel').[27]
2. On 26 June, Benedetto Nigrono, the prior of the Benedictine convent and hospital of Sant'Antonio di Prè, accepted items worth 210 lire: a crystal reliquary (or reliquaries) of St Anthony with silver decoration; two chalices with patens and a *navicella* (little boat: a small metal incense container) with a spoon, all made of silver; a diadem and other unspecified items.
3. On 27 June the convent of Lateran Canonesses of Santa Maria delle Grazie received items worth 102 lire: 'una maestà di Nostra Donna guarnita d'argento' (icon-like panel painting of Our Lady, adorned with silver); a small silver cross on a pedestal (weighing six ounces); a silver chalice with patens weighing 1 pound and 9 ounces; a robe with gold braid; a chasuble with the Spinola family coat of arms.
4. On 1 July, Stefano di Antonio di Turilio, the prior of the convent of Santa Brigida, took items worth 105 lire: two silver chalices with patens weighing 41 ounces; a small crystal altar with gilt decoration and the relics of St Catherine; a picture in a silver cover.
5. On 2 July, Sister Tommasa Gambacurta, the abbess of the Dominican nuns of the convent of Corpo di Cristo (formerly S. Silvestro) received, for 171 lire: a silver chalice with paten weighing 2 pounds and 3 ounces; a *maestà* in a silver dress; a silver thurible with a *navicella* and spoon weighing 4 pounds; a silver-plate cross.

[26] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 129.

[27] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 277–78, 396.

6. Also on 2 July, Franciscan nuns of the convent of San Paolo de Capite Arene (de Via Nova) received, for 80 lire: a silver thurible with a *navicella* and a spoon, and a picture of the Lamentation of Christ.
7. On 3 July, Brother Simonetto di Ripalta took for the church of San Bartolomeo della Certosa, for 100 lire: a silver chalice with paten weighing 4 pounds and 3 ounces and a *maestà* in a silver cover.
8. On 7 July, Benedictines of the monastery of S. Benigno di Capofaro, received two silver chalices with patens and a little altar with the relics of St Ignatius (in total for 112 lire).
9. On 8 July, the monastery of Santa Maria dei Servi, received (for 79 lire): a chalice weighing 1 pound and 2 ounces, a great cross and a *maestà* of Our Lady in a silver cover.
10. Benedictines of San Niccolò del Boschetto received, on 4 September, for 80 lire: a little altar decorated with crystal, pearls and artificial gems (*iocalibus confractis*) with a part of a bone of St Basil and a silver cross with *amblis* (amber?) and a crystal knob.
11. The nuns of the hermitage of San Silvestro received, on 17 September, for 40 lire: a silver chalice with paten and a *maestà* with St John the Baptist.[28]
12. The most valuable loans were received in autumn 1461 by two monasteries of the mendicant orders, mainly thanks to the financial support of the representatives of the Giustiniani family. On 17 September and 6 and 7 November, the Franciscan sanctuary of Santa Maria del Monte received items worth 1430 lire: three silver chalices with patens; a silver reliquary of Saints Andrew the Apostle and Nicholas, decorated with pearls and crystal, two *maestàs* with Madonnas; a chasuble made of crimson satin with golden friezes; a 'plebiario di camocato d'anofato con smalti di argento' ('silk robe decorated with enamels on silver'?); a small gilded cross, 187 volumes, and also a reliquary containing the arm of St Anne, made of gold, silver

[28] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 394–98, Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', pp. 89, 92–93; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 128, 132–34. On the loan to the church of Sant'Antonio di Prè (with reference to a document from 1466), see also: Tagliaferro, 'L'"Eleusa" di Pera a Genova', p. 8, and for S. Benigno di Capofaro: Salvi, 'La Distruzione della Badia Genovese di Capo Faro', p. 343. Some of the dates of donations in above mentioned publications differ from those published by Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, I, 13–18, and Cervetto, *Memorie Storiche* (after Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', pp. 92–93).

Figure 12.3. Genoa, part of the façade of the church of Santa Maria di Castello. Established in the ninth century; built in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. (Photo by Rafał Quirini-Popławski.)

and decorated with jewels and pearls.[29] Although most probably no books have been preserved from those given to the sanctuary of Nostra Signora del Monte, the information given in 1882 on the basis of an unedited list of volumes by Luigi Augusto Cervetto shows that most of them had rich bindings, made of leather, expensive fabrics and precious metals, and were illuminated with figures of saints, animals and flowers. They included sermons, miracles of the Virgin ('De miraculis virginis'), legends of the saints ('Notabilia sanctorum'), canticles and antiphonaries.[30]

[29] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 278–81, 397; Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 88; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 129, 134; Ameri, 'Reliquiario del braccio di Sant'Anna', pp. 254–58; Less, 'Santuario di Nostra Signora del Monte', FOSCA <http://www.fosca.unige.it/gewiki/index.php/_di_Nostra_Signora_del_Monte> [accessed 18 April 2013], but note that the number of volumes is erroneously given here as 80.

[30] Cervetto, *Memorie Storiche* (after Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', pp. 92–93).

13. The loan of the second greatest value (894 lire) was received by the Dominican convent of Santa Maria di Castello (Fig. 12.3). On 1 October and 16 December the convent received: a silver reliquary of the arm of Saint Praxedes with jewels; four silver cups and three patens; a silver thurible with a *navicella* and spoon; a silver tabernacle for the 'Corpus Domini' ('body of the Lord'); a little altar of silver plated copper with crystal; a silver reliquary of St Dominic with jewels; a gilded silver cross with a crystal knob; a silver reliquary of St Peter the Martyr; a certain number of reliquaries of gold and silver; three corporals; a ribbon, twenty-four volumes; a *maestà* with Our Lady 'argento elaboratam et quibusdam margaritis et anulis circum munitam' ('in a silver cover surrounded with pearls and rings'). Relics without precious reliquaries in this loan included particles of: the Holy Cross; the head of St Paul the Apostle; St Bartholomew the Apostle; St Lazarus; St Dionysus, Bishop and Martyr; St Constantine the Emperor; a fragment of St Agata's neck, and the remains of many other saints.[31]

In the autumn of 1461 smaller gifts also found their way to two other churches:

14. On 5 October, the church of San Giuliano d'Albaro received, for 68 lire: a *maestà* with Our Lady in a silver cover; a silver chalice with paten weighing 2 pounds and 5 ounces.
15. On 27 October, the sacristy of the cathedral of San Lorenzo received: a silver cross with two sapphires, two rubies and forty-four pearls; a crystal reliquary with a finger of St Lawrence, decorated with silver and 20 pearls; a cope.
16. A final loan was delayed, for unknown reasons, until August 1476, when the church of Santa Maria della Cella (under the care of the Benedictines from S. Benigno di Capofaro) received a silver reliquary of the arm of St Pantaleon, with an inscription in Greek.[32]

[31] Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la città di Genova*, I, 365–66; *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 279–84, 336, 398–99; Vigna, *Storia cronologica del convento di S. Maria di Castello*, pp. 123–25; Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', pp. 87–88; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 129, 134.

[32] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 398; Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 132–34. The reliquary of St Pantaleon was brought to Genoa from Pera, but it in fact was a piece of Syrian craftsmanship. The value of the last two loans is not specified in the documents.

Subsequent Relocations

Rather less can be said about the subsequent fate of the objects that have been the focus of this article. Although at least three of these are still to be found in Genoa today, their fifteenth-century destinations in Genoa were often not the end of these objects' journeys.[33] We know that the relics from Pera and other former Genoese eastern colonies that had been placed in the church of Santa Maria di Castello (No. 13 in the list above) were deposited in a special chapel (the Cappella dell'Assunta) in May 1610, where in all probability they are kept up to this day.[34] Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the same chapel contained the *Madonna di Pera* (Fig. 12.4), a Byzantine icon in a silver cover, most probably made in 1383 and also moved there on 16 December 1461.[35] Unfortunately, on 24 May 1878, thieves who crept into the church, destroyed the picture itself and cut its cover into pieces. Somewhat later, the parish priest, Fr Tommaso Campo Antico, retrieved almost all parts of the cover, reconstructed it and substituted the missing parts. On the basis of a photograph, previously made for the Società Ligure di Storia Patria, he also commissioned a reconstruction of the image itself. However, that reconstructed version was also stolen, probably before 1929.

Another icon of Our Lady known to have come from Pera that dates to the fourteenth century is held now in the Museo di Sant'Agostino (formerly in the Palazzo Bianco) in Genoa. The picture, now called *Madonna di Pera* or *Eleusa di Pera* (Fig. 12.5), comes from the Benedictine church of S. Antonio di Prè (No. 2 in the list).[36] No pictures are mentioned among the objects from Pera placed in this church in 1461. However, though, as the list shows, a certain number of unspecified 'items' formed part of the loan. Alternatively, it is possible that this picture was taken to Genoa not as a part of the larger action in 1461, but after 1486 when the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria della

[33] Di Fabio, 'San Lorenzo, un'identita Genovese Araba, Normanna e Bizantina'.

[34] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 281–84; 336; Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 90, note 5. Contrary to suspicions expressed by Vigna (*Illustrazione storica, artistica ed epigrafica*, p. 141), Baghino does not believe that any of the books acquired from Pera survive in the monastery of Santa Maria di Castello.

[35] Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la città di Genova*, I, 365–66; *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 399, 414–15, tav. V; Tagliaferro, 'L'"Eleusa" di Pera a Genova', pp. 10 (note 8), 23 (fig. 12); Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 88, 90–91. Painted wings, which were fixed to the image until around 1864, were probably created after its arrival to Genoa.

[36] Cordaro, 'Relazione di restauro del dipinto del sec. XIV', p. 5.

Figure 12.4.
Genoa, so-called *Madonna di Pera* from the church of Santa Maria di Castello, 1383 (?), destroyed in 1878 (after Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, tav. V).

Misericordia in Pera became subordinate to the monastery of S. Antonio.[37] It was only as late as the first half of the nineteenth century that a tradition was recorded according to which this Genoese church held a painting of Our Lady with Child from Pera, painted by St Luke.[38] At the end of the nineteenth century this tradition was associated with a representation of the Virgin Mary included into the picture of St Nicholas of Myra, painted by Giovanni Andrea Carlone in the second half of the seventeenth century. The picture that concerns us, however, was transferred to the city's art collections in the Palazzo Bianco immediately after the church's closure in 1891.[39]

[37] Polonio, 'Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna a Pera di Costantinopoli', p. 420; Tagliaferro, 'L'"Eleusa" di Pera a Genova', pp. 8, 11–22 (fig. 111).

[38] This picture, however, contained the figures of twelve Apostles around the central image (see Tagliaferro, 'L'"Eleusa" di Pera a Genova', p. 7), which suggests that the tradition could refer to other image.

[39] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 395; Polonio, 'A

Figure 12.5.
Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino, the so-called *Madonna di Pera* from the church of S. Antonio di Prè, fourteenth century. (Photo courtesy Museo di Sant'Agostino.)

A third work transported from Pera to Genoa and still preserved today is the so-called arm reliquary of St Anne, which in fact contains a femur (No. 12 in the list). It is regarded as Constantinople work made around the turn of the twelfth century. A crown with Gothic features on the top of the reliquary, along with a ring featuring a Latin inscription, may have been added subsequently, after the arrival of the reliquary in Genoa. Indeed, for epigraphic reasons, it cannot have been added earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century.[40] In early November 1461, the reliquary went to the Franciscan Sanctuary of the Madonna del Monte in Val Bisagno and was placed in the altar in the right

Genova tra XIV e XV secolo', pp. 130, 133; Tagliaferro, 'L'"Eleusa" di Pera a Genova', pp. 7–10. Theoretically, it is possible that there were two different Madonnas di Pera in this church, although this seems unlikely. Baghino dates the painting to the thirteenth century and casts doubts on its origin in Pera: Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 93.

[40] Ameri, 'Reliquiario del braccio di Sant'Anna', pp. 254–55.

transept, which was eventually converted into a chapel dedicated to St Anne. The reliquary was displayed on the altar on the 26 July each year from 1461 to 1810 when, as a result of the Napoleonic dissolutions, it came into the possession of the cathedral chapter of Genoa. It is currently on display in the treasury of the cathedral in Genoa.[41]

Conclusion

Records of the objects translated from the churches of Pera to those of Genoa in the mid-fifteenth century provide information not only about the decoration of these buildings, but concerning their donors and custodians, colonists whose motivations and fears can be traced, in part, through these objects' journeys. Thanks to the documents that record these objects movements following their removal from Pera, we can glimpse a partial image of the interior furnishings, decorations, and equipment of the colony's Latin churches. Several items are described in the documents as bearing Greek inscriptions, which would indicate that these churches held some items of Byzantine character. This impression is confirmed by the few remaining pieces. The Byzantine features of some pieces may be explained in two ways. It is possible that the objects were in the first instance executed for Greek Orthodox churches, and that Pera's Latin churches formed their secondary destinations. In the light of this, it may be appropriate to reconsider the suggestion that Genoese historian Niccolò Perasso put forward in his unpublished work 'Chiese di Genova' (1770), that during the Turkish siege of Constantinople (1443 to 1453), the most precious relics of the churches of Constantinople itself found their way to Pera.[42] Perasso speculated that this was done according to the wishes of Emperor Constantine XI, but managed through his Genoese wife, Caterina Gattilusio (d. 1442). Irrespective of certain obvious historical errors that somewhat undermine Perasso's reasoning, this hypothesis may possess an element of truth. We may speculate that, facing the possibility of defeat, a dozen or so years before the fall of the capital of the Byzantine Empire, through the imperial consort or other close Genoese connections, certain Byzantine rel-

[41] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, p. 280; Botto, 'Reliquiario, detto Braccio di Sant'Anna', tav. III; Baghino, 'Tra erudizione e orgoglio municipale', p. 88; Ameri, 'Reliquiario del braccio di Sant'Anna', pp. 254–57.

[42] Vigna, *Storia cronologica del convento di S. Maria di Castello*, pp. 123–25. This author expresses unequivocally his opposition to Perasso's explanation.

ics could have found their way to the seemingly safer Pera. After all, a similar threat later precipitated the evacuation of relics from Pera to Genoa. According to the Castilian envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, all relics kept in 1403 in the church of San Francesco in Pera were taken by the Latins from the churches of Constantinople in the days of the Latin Empire.[43]

Perasso's explanation is perhaps less likely, however, than the possibility that objects with Byzantine-influenced decoration and Greek inscriptions were part of the permanent equipment of the Latin churches of Pera. Some may have found their way there secondarily as gifts or purchases. But some may have been specially commissioned or made by members of the Latin congregation; the Genoese noblewoman Marietta di Pagana's conditional gift to the church of San Domenico in Genoa included textiles worked with Greek lettering alongside the coats of arms of Genoa and of the Giustiniani and di Pagana families. Moreover, some of them were made by the donor herself. This explanation, indeed, is consonant with information we know from other sources, such as the Masseria di Pera bills, which confirm that artisans and artists of Greek descent were very often employed by the colonial authorities in Pera.[44] Surviving examples of artworks of Byzantine character in the context of Latin churches include the painted decoration of the interior of the Dominican Church of S. Paolo in Pera. Moreover, much of the ornamentation of its architectural decoration is typical of the contemporary Byzantine bas-reliefs, as were decorative elements on certain tombstones it once housed.[45] The documents, then, may offer further evidence for profound acculturation processes taking place in Pera, involving the amalgamation of Latin and Greek Orthodox architectural and artistic traditions. This explanation highlights Pera's potential role as a place where a distinctive Latin-Eastern culture was formed.

The documents suggest that the movement of items from the Latin churches of Pera to Genoa in the period after the fall of the capital of the Eastern Empire was a significant event, even when considered in the wider context of the importation of Byzantine art into the Latin West in this turbulent period.[46]

[43] *Dal mare di Alboran a Samarcanda*, ed. by Spinelli, p. 106

[44] *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera*, ed. by Belgrano, pp. 161–74.

[45] Westphalen, 'Pittori greci nella chiesa domenicana dei Genovesi a Pera (Arap Camii)'; Westphalen, 'Die Dominikanerkirche der Genuesen von Pera (Arap Camii)'; Cramer and Düll, 'Baubeobachtungen an der Arap Camii in Istanbul'; Düll, 'Byzanz in Galata', pp. 270–74; Düll, 'Les monuments des Génois en Turquie et leurs rapports avec Byzance'.

[46] It is worth noting that the transfer of 1461 was just one of the means by which art of Byzantine character reached Genoa. Among the vast bibliography on this topic see especially:

The quantities of precious works of craftsmanship are significant, and their monetary values carefully documented. But the documents also indicate how important these objects were to the people who arranged, secured and supervised their movements.[47] Marietta di Pagana took care to provide in detail for the future of her conditional gift to San Domenico. The textiles, whose combination of Genoese and Greek decoration says something of her community's sense of its distinct cultural and political situation, were to be returned, along with the other elements of the donation, to Santa Chiara in Pera in the event of a restoration of Genoese power there. The categorization of Marietta's donation and those following the shipment of 1461, and even as late as 1476, as loans, secured (in the case of the 1461 transfers) against deposits, and making provision for the items' return should conditions allow, suggests that these physical artefacts were invested with more than monetary value. Not only holy relics, but relics of Genoa's colonial community in Pera, these objects perhaps signified, for donor individuals and groups, the possibility of return. But, while it is true that these objects' journeys rarely ended at their fifteenth-century destinations, the return so hoped for by their fifteenth-century donors and custodians was not to take place.

Dufour Bozzo, *Il "Sacro Volto" di Genova*, and a series of the catalogue entries in: *Mandylion. Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova*.

[47] On the emotional circumstances surrounding the migration of particular objects see for example Schamberger and others, 'Living in a Material World', and Gosden and Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects'.

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A Herald and his Objects in Exile: Roger Machado and his Memorandum Book, 1484–1485

Gemma L. Watson

Introduction

Roger Machado is an elusive and largely unexplored character in English history, who lived through the period known as the 'Wars of the Roses'. He is best known as Henry VII's herald and, because of this past, heralds and scholars have generally assumed that he came to England with Henry in 1485. However, closer inspection of English sources reveals that from 1471 to 1483 Machado was living in England and serving as Leicester Herald for Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. At the end of 1483 Machado left England for Brittany where he joined Henry Tudor, the future Henry VII, in exile. With this in mind, this article offers an exploratory scenario for how Machado left England to join Tudor by suggesting his involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion, a revolt to overthrow Richard III in the autumn of 1483. A significant proportion of Machado's extant memorandum book, College of Arms MS Arundel 51, fols 19^{r}–28^{v}, was compiled during the years 1484 and 1485. The documents include an inventory, mercantile accounts, and a list of expenses for journeys undertaken on behalf of the exiled Marquis of Dorset. This article will show how these documents, pertaining to objects and journeys, can be interpreted in light of Machado's involvement in the rebellion and his resulting exile.

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Machado and the Buckingham Rebellion of 1483

The medieval English heralds had many responsibilities in the royal court. They granted coats of arms and adjudicated chivalric competitions such as jousts and tournaments, they presided in and recorded royal ceremonial, and they were diplomatic envoys and messengers. There were three ranks within the College of Arms: king of arms, herald, and pursuivant. As noted above, Roger Machado is best known as Henry VII's herald, Richmond King of Arms, a very senior herald within the English College of Arms. Thomas Lant, Portcullis Pursuivant (1588–97), said that Machado was a Frenchman;[1] and John Anstis, Garter King of Arms (1718–44), states that Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms (1505–34) believed that Machado was Breton: 'The common Tradition is that he was a native of Bretagne in France and came hither Richmond Herald with Henry Earl of that place'.[2] However, these opinions date from some time after Machado's death and have masked the fact that Machado was in fact Leicester Herald for Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, prior to becoming Henry Tudor's herald in exile.

Between 1484 and 1485, Machado disappears from English sources, but materializes again after Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth Field, when, in September 1485, he was known as Richmond Herald and was made the King's Searcher of Customs in the port of Southampton.[3] Machado was quickly promoted to a King of Arms, becoming the most senior herald in Henry VII's court after Garter King of Arms.[4] The title of Richmond Herald was an important favour bestowed on Machado by Henry Tudor, as Tudor styled himself as the Earl of Richmond whilst in exile. Although Machado was promoted several times within the Office of Arms, he always retained the Richmond title because it connected him directly with the king and their time together in exile.

Machado was Portuguese. This is testified by his surname and some of his extant writings. *Machado* is the Portuguese word for axe, and the Machado coat of arms is a pun in design on this word, being gules, five axes argent, two,

[1] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 40, fol. 8r; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 83.

[2] Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 83.

[3] *Calendar of the Fine Rolls: Henry VII*, pp. 36, 38.

[4] Machado appears to have been known as Richmond King of Arms from October 1485. He was made Norroy King of Arms in December 1485, being known as Richmond King of Arms of Norroy: Campbell, *Materials*, pp. 140, 370, 404; Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 79.

one, and two.[5] Moreover, while Machado predominantly writes in French in his extant memorandum book, there is one account of wines that is written in Portuguese.[6] He was fluent in several languages including French and Portuguese, and also probably Spanish, Italian, and English. For this reason, Machado was used extensively as a diplomatic envoy and was sent to some of the most influential courts on the European continent.[7] As a herald, he was also involved in the execution and documentation of royal ceremonial, recording the funeral of Edward IV and possibly contributing to the narrative of the early years of Henry VII's reign that included many important ceremonial events such as the coronation of Elizabeth of York and the birth of Prince Arthur.[8] From 1486 to 1497, Machado lived in the affluent merchant quarter of Southampton, where he became a burgess in 1491.[9]

Sources suggest that Machado left England for the continent in late 1483. A record of a case before Justices in the Exchequer Chamber dated 3 June 1483 states that Machado, along with four others (Robert Taillour, William Danyell, Richard Alyson, and Robert Palmer), owed three Genoese merchants (Benedict Spynell, Gabriel de Fournariis, and John Baptist le Gentille) a considerable sum of 500 marks (approximately £330). On 3 June 1483 Machado and his associates were bound to repay this sum by the 24 June, but they failed to do so. When the case was then subsequently brought to the Court of the King's Bench in 1484, only one of the debtors, Robert Taillour, was present.[10] Adrian Ailes suggests that Machado may have fled England on account of this debt, but I do not consider this theory very convincing and suspect the explanation to be more political than fiscal.[11] 1483 was the year of the three kings: it

[5] Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 79.

[6] I am very grateful to Prof Anne Curry, Dr Lena Wahlgren-Smith and Dr Tiago Viula de Faria for their help in the translation of Machado's memorandum book (London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 14^{r}–28^{v}).

[7] For instance, Machado was part of the embassies sent to Spain and Portugal in 1488–89 and to Brittany twice in 1490 (London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 29^{r}–88^{r}; *Memorials of King Henry VII*, ed. by Gairdner, pp. 328–89).

[8] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 14^{r}–17^{v}; *The Heralds' Memoir*, ed. by Cavell, p. 132.

[9] *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, ed. by Kaye, pp. 289–91; *The Book of Fines*, ed. by Butler, I, 15.

[10] *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber Before all the Justices of England*, ed. by Hemmant, pp. 96–101.

[11] Ailes, 'Machado, Roger (d. 1510)'.

saw the death of Edward IV, the probable murder of Edward V, and the usurpation of the throne by Richard III. Richard's usurpation and the probable murder of his nephews at his hand sparked a revolt within his own court known as the Buckingham Rebellion. As I show below, there is compelling evidence, through his various connections with attainted rebels, for Machado's involvement in the rebellion, and that he joined the rebels in exile on the continent after the rebellion failed.

The main sources for the Buckingham Rebellion are later narratives: The *Croyland Chronicle* (1486), Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (1512–13), Thomas More's *The History of King Richard III* (*c.* 1513–18), and Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (1542).[12] We have no contemporary statement by the rebels of their aims. We have no reliable information on how a coherent opposition to Richard III was put together. No manifestos survive and we have no idea of the rebels' plan. We are therefore reliant on these later sources for information on the plot. According to these sources, the Buckingham Rebellion started as a rising of the substantial gentry in the south of England and Wales in the autumn of 1483. These men, who were mostly former supporters of Edward IV, sought to depose Richard III and replace him with Edward's son and heir, Edward V. However, after rumours began to circulate that Edward V and his brother had been murdered, the sources suggest that Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, proposed that Richard III be replaced by the Lancastrian exile Henry Tudor who would marry Elizabeth of York, Edward IV's eldest daughter. It appears that the plan was for the rebels in the south-east to seize London. The south-west counties would join Henry Tudor when he landed on the south coast, and Buckingham was to raise a force in Wales and cross the Severn into England at the same time as the gentry risings broke out. However, the Kentish risings went off prematurely, coinciding with John Howard, Duke of Norfolk's tour of his newly-acquired estates in Surrey and Sussex, who quickly quashed it before any of the rebels could reach London. Richard III's spy network already had Buckingham under surveillance and provided the King with intelligence of the Welsh uprising before it actually happened, enabling him to successfully defeat the meagre Welsh force and capture Buckingham. Henry Tudor's fleet was scattered by storms in the Channel, and only one or two ships were able to land on the south

[12] *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. by Riley; *Anglica historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. by Hay; *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. by Sylvester; *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. by Ellis.

coast. By this time, Richard was in the area and the coast was strongly guarded. Therefore, Tudor had to quickly retreat back to the continent, and was joined by many of the other rebels, one of whom, I argue, was Roger Machado.[13]

It is conceivable that Machado had involvement in the plot to overthrow Richard III through Thomas Grey, the Marquis of Dorset. Dorset was half-brother to the murdered princes and was one of the conspirators who fled after the failure of the Buckingham Rebellion. At the beginning of 1485, Machado acted as an agent for Grey, a fact that is evidenced in his memorandum book, where he lists five notes of expenses of journeys made to Flanders on behalf of the Marquis.[14] Unfortunately, there is no evidence that definitively points to Machado being directly in the service of Thomas Grey before 1485, but I would suggest that there was a relationship between the two men before that date. As a herald at the royal court, Machado would have crossed paths with Dorset many times. He may even have served Dorset's family, the hugely influential Woodvilles, when not performing tasks for the crown. The fact that Machado was used as an agent by Dorset demonstrates that Dorset trusted Machado to perform tasks on his behalf, suggesting the possibility that Machado had run errands for Dorset before.

Further indications that Machado may have been involved in the Buckingham Rebellion emerge when we consider the case of four Southampton men who were attainted for their participation in the rebellion.[15] It has never been fully understood why and how these men got themselves embroiled in a plot to overthrow the king, especially as Southampton had no real involvement in the rebellion itself. Although Richard III was an unpopular king, especially after rumours of the murder of his young nephews, this is not grounds enough to argue that this was why Southampton men became involved. However, I argue below that they were involved in the rebellion through their connections with Machado.

The Southampton men attainted were William Overy, Roger Kelsale, Walter William, and John Fesaunt, and were men of importance in the coastal town. Overy had been clerk to the town for several years and became sheriff in 1472

[13] For further details and discussion of the Buckingham Rebellion see Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 105–24; Griffiths and Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, pp. 89–105; Gill, *Richard III and Buckingham's Rebellion*; and Hicks, *Richard III*, pp. 135–72.

[14] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28^{r}–28^{v}.

[15] *Rotuli parliamentorum, ut et petitiones, et placita in parliamento*, VI, 246; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Horrox, XV, 26.

and mayor in 1474.[16] In 1471 Overy had been 'controller of the great and petty custom, the subsidy of wools, hides, and woolfells', and had been knighted sometime between 1478 and 1483 as he was attainted as 'late of Southampton, Knight'.[17] Roger Kelsale had been a Member of Parliament and yeoman to the crown throughout Edward IV's reign. He performed many tasks on behalf of the king including the manufacture and transport of artillery, supervision of work to improve and maintain Southampton's walls and harbour, and the victualing of ships.[18] In 1475, 1476, and 1483 he had also been a customs collector in Southampton.[19] Walter William was mayor at the time of the Buckingham Rebellion. He had been Steward of the town in 1473, Senior Bailiff in 1479, and Sheriff in 1481. There is little information in the Southampton civic records regarding John Fesaunt. However his name is noted in the Fine Rolls through his appointments from November 1485 to November 1489 as searcher of ships in the port of Poole, a short distance along the coast from Southampton, and in all adjacent ports and places (the same position awarded to Machado in Southampton), as collector of the petty custom in Poole, as collector of subsidies of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on wools, woolfells, and hides in the same port.[20]

After 1485, Machado had a professional relationship with the Southampton rebels through his position as Searcher of Customs in Southampton. At the same time as Machado was made Searcher of Customs in Southampton by Tudor, William Overy was made Surveyor of Customs in Southampton, Walter William was granted the position of Troner and Weigher (presumably a similar position to do with customs collection), and Fesaunt was awarded Searcher and Collector of Customs in Poole.[21] However, Kelsale did not live long enough to benefit from Henry's benevolence as he died in October 1485.[22] Overy, Kelsale, William, and Fesaunt all had something to lose by joining the rebellion, but I argue that their support for Henry Tudor paid off as they were rewarded with

[16] *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, ed. by Gidden, p. 72.

[17] Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'; *Rotuli parliamentorum, ut et petitiones, et placita in parliamento*, VI, 246; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Horrox, XV, 26.

[18] Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

[19] Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

[20] *Calendar of the Fine Rolls: Henry VII*, pp. 38, 65, 119–20; Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

[21] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Henry VII*, II, 83, 143; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls: Henry VII*, pp. 38, 65, 119–20; Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

[22] Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

important civic positions. We can view Machado's appointment as Searcher of Customs in a similar light. It was proffered as a reward for his loyal service, the most important aspect being the moiety that came with it that entitled him to half the confiscated goods entering the port there.

We know that Machado had lived in Southampton at the time of the Buckingham Rebellion, as he is described as 'late of Hampton' in the 1483 exchequer case noted above. He also lived on Simnel Street in the affluent merchant quarter of Southampton between 1486 and 1497.[23] The medieval walled town of Southampton was not large, having a population of only around 2000 people by 1524, with the majority of the wealthy merchants and civic officials living in the south-west area of the town.[24] Overy, Kelsale, William, and Fesaunt were all men of importance and authority in Southampton and surrounding areas, and it would have been Machado's responsibility, as a herald, to know who these men were. Therefore, through his connections with Southampton, it is plausible that Machado could have involved Overy, Kelsale, William, and Feasunt in the plot to overthrow Richard III.

There is further compelling evidence that Walter William had early knowledge of the plot and then its failure to overthrow Richard III in 1483. When new mayors were elected in Southampton, they recorded their name in the town's *Book of Remembrance*. What is particularly interesting is that Walter's name has been pen-cancelled in the book after having been written in as mayor in 1483 after his election on 29 September. The next entries after Walter's are also written in a different hand, and in the margin is the note that Walter had fled into sanctuary and John Walker was elected as mayor in the same year.[25] It is possible that Walter became aware of the plot through communication with Roger Machado, who would have had first-hand knowledge of events at court, especially if he was in the service of the Marquis of Dorset.

Machado probably joined Henry Tudor and the other rebels at the very end of 1483 when Machado was sent by Richard III to assist William Rosse in the victualing of Calais on 15 December 1483.[26] This legitimate crown business

[23] *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber Before all the Justices of England*, ed. by Hemmant, p. 98.

[24] Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 184; James, 'Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 28–29; *Southampton Probate Inventories 1477–1575*, ed. by Roberts and Parker, I, xiii.

[25] Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'; *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, ed. by Gidden, I, 72.

[26] *Memorials of King Henry VII*, ed. by Gairdner, p. xxxix.

on the continent would have provided an opportunity for Machado to join Henry Tudor and the other Yorkist rebels. If Machado had been caught up in the Buckingham Rebellion, then his involvement had gone undetected up to this point, like many other of its protagonists. A total of one hundred and four men were attainted for their involvement in the Rebellion in Richard III's first parliament in January 1484, but it has been estimated that Henry had up to five hundred supporters with him in exile after 1483, the majority being former supporters of Edward IV.[27] It is therefore plausible that Machado's involvement could have gone unnoticed.

While the absence of firm documentary evidence makes it impossible to definitively prove Machado's involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion, I have shown that he had close connections with important rebels, such as the Marquis of Dorset, that he was linked to known participants in Southampton, and that he had the opportunity to join the rebels in exile on the continent at the end of 1483. However, this circumstantial evidence is supported, as I show below, by a valuable and as yet unexploited source suggesting an otherwise undocumented period of exile: Machado's memorandum book.

Machado's Moving Objects

In 1484, Machado wrote down an inventory of his household goods in his memorandum book.[28] The inventory lists a selection of valuable, and, most importantly for its interpretation, portable objects. With portability being a significant aspect of Machado's inventory, I argue below that the inventory was compiled to record the possessions that Machado took with him into exile. Firstly, however, I describe its contents.

The inventory starts with a list of linen, most of which was for use during dining: five doublets of diaper (probably referring to double towels that were twice the length of a tablecloth and laid doubled on the table); seven long towels of diaper, twenty seven serviettes of diaper; fifteen ells of diaper towels; three fine linen cloths for christening children; fourteen pieces of linen cloth, both finely woven and coarsely woven; four towels for washing hands; three white table cloths; three grey and blue tablecloths; seven rods of coarse raw

[27] Cunningham, *Henry VII*, p. 24.

[28] The inventory is entitled by Machado: *Lestoffaigne de mon hostel anno 1484* (Inventory of my house year 1484): London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 19^{r}–19^{v}. A full transcription and translation of Machado's inventory can be found in Watson, 'Roger Machado: A Life in Objects'.

cloth, and a piece of canvas (probably plain linen). Diaper is a high quality, fine linen fabric woven with a small repeating pattern formed by the different directions of the thread. The pattern was usually geometric or floral in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but was not restricted to these designs. If Machado acquired this linen whilst living in England, then it would have been imported from France or the Low Countries. Modern scholars generally consider that items of diaper were owned and used chiefly by the wealthy, so its appearance on Machado's inventory shows that he was a man of some means.[29]

Other items for the dining table are also listed including three sets of pewter vessels and a salt cellar. By the sixteenth century pewter could be found in about half of the houses in England at all social levels, so it is not surprising that Machado owned such items. The merchant class especially invested heavily in it, whilst those further down the social ladder owned only a few pieces.[30] Pewter was easy to transport as it was less inclined to breakages, unlike ceramic and glass vessels (both owned by Machado as evidenced by the 1970s excavation of his Southampton residence).[31]

Clothing for Machado and his wife also form a large part of the inventory, including four dresses for his wife, three of which were violet and one of which had a velvet collar. Machado's clothing included a crimson robe and a doublet made from sarcenet (a fine soft silk material). Certain colours, such as purple and red, were more aspirational than others because they were imbued with connotations of power, authority and status, and even privilege. Violet was a paler, more muted shade than pure purple and therefore its use was not restricted by sumptuary legislation. There were several ways of achieving purple and its associated shades, including violet: tyrian purple from murocidae molluscs, orchil from lichen, and kermes and madder could be over-dyed with indigo, and none were cheap.[32] Kathleen Ashley has argued that violet was a 'fashion' colour, used for the 'fanciest clothing'.[33] It was a popular colour choice for gowns and kirtles, doublets and hose in the Early Tudor period.[34] Scarlet and crimson were the most highly prized of the red shades, and the cost and brightness of pro-

[29] Mitchell, '"By Your Leave My Masters"'.

[30] *Southampton Probate Inventories1477–1575*, ed. by Roberts and Parker, I, xxxiv.

[31] Southampton, City Archives, SOU 124, unpublished excavation records; Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*.

[32] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 96.

[33] Ashley, 'Material and Symbolic Gift-Giving', p. 141.

[34] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 96.

ducing red shades often meant that the wearing of red-dyed cloth was legislated.[35] Velvet was an expensive textile and by the end of the fifteenth century was embellished with large patterns. Its use for only the sleeves and collar of a doublet was not unusual at this time because when worn with a gown only the sleeves and collar would have been visible.[36] Two fur items, one of mink and the other of miniver, are also listed in Machado's inventory of 1484. Furs were predominantly imported into England at this time from Russia, Scandinavia, and the Baltic. Fur garments were largely restricted to the elite through sumptuary legislation at this time, but heralds were often exempt from these restrictions, which may explain why Machado owned fur garments.[37]

Finally, there were two barrels of wine recorded in Machado's inventory, one containing red wine, the other white wine. Machado appears to have been a great lover of wine; he imported it in a joint venture in 1484 (discussed below) and was also later granted a special licence to import Gascon wine by Henry VII in 1494.[38] All the objects in the inventory of 1484, excluding the wine, could have been stored and transported in the chests that are also listed. There was also one chest, described as long and plain, exclusively used to store books and letters, perhaps also storing the memorandum book in which this inventory was written down.

In Machado's era, houses were sparsely furnished by comparison with modern standards and wealth was often invested in textiles. This is reflected in Machado's inventory. There is, however, one significant omission from Machado's inventory that provides an indication of its possible purpose: it does not list furniture. Furniture would, of course, be expected in a full inventory of a dwelling. There are, however, parallels elsewhere for the kind of inventory found in Machado's book. For instance, it was common in the early modern period for a great lord's household to compile inventories as the household would regularly move between the lord's houses. The Hatfield House archives contain a number of inventories kept for this purpose, such as one made on the fifth of August 1609: 'Lyninge sent to Cranborne'.[39] These houses were permanently furnished, but linen and plate were normally kept with the household as

[35] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 97.

[36] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 115.

[37] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 38.

[38] Noble, *A History of the College of Arms*, p. 111.

[39] Hatfield House archives, Box B/97; Mitchell, '"By Your Leave My Masters"', p. 57.

it travelled.[40] It was therefore necessary to keep track of the objects that moved around. However, Machado was not a great lord and would not have had a large household. I therefore suggest that the inventory was compiled by Machado in preparation for travel not between residences of his own, but elsewhere entirely.

Considering that Machado disappears from English sources between June 1483 and September 1485, his potential involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion, and that in the early months of 1485 he was working as an agent for the exiled Marquis of Dorset, I suggest that the inventory of 1484 was compiled as a list of objects Machado (and his wife) took with them into exile. The need for objects to be transportable must have been important if Machado was on the move, travelling from place to place. It would also have been a time when he was not receiving a salary from the English Crown and therefore much of his wealth would have been invested in these valuable objects. He was not the only exile to invest his wealth in this way. The chroniclers Edward Hall, Richard Grafton, and Raphael Holinshed record that Bishop John Morten acquired cash and treasure at Ely Cathedral before fleeing England after the Buckingham Rebellion, and Machado himself sold some of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset's silver whilst in Flanders.[41]

If Machado was indeed in exile between the years 1484 to 1485, as I have argued, it would have been a time when finances were tight and Machado would have had to find new sources of income. His memorandum book suggests that this was through mercantile ventures. In July 1484, Machado was buying and selling Portuguese wine in a partnership with Johan Piriz de Bischaia (of Biscay) and John de Meullemester. The account records that the three men bought wine of Azóia from various individuals including Pero de Quimbra, Johan Karvalho, and Leonardo Senturion, which they then sold on for a profit.[42] Machado records that he made £8 from this partnership.[43] At the end of the same year, Machado also purchased various types of cloth and luxury textiles from Meullermester.[44] In November and December, Machado paid 22s 6d for two and half ells of damask, and 7s for a cornette and half an ell of black velvet. He also bought from Meullermester seven ells of cloth for 3s 6d, a black

[40] Mitchell, '"By Your Leave My Masters"', pp. 56–57.

[41] Davies, 'Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII', p. 6; London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28^{r}.

[42] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 21^{r}–22^{r}.

[43] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 27^{r}.

[44] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 21^{r}–27^{r}.

lamb skin cloth for 12s, and 6 ells of raw cloth for 3s 8½d.[45] But who were Meullermester and Piriz and how did Machado come to meet them?

Johan Piriz was a successful Spanish merchant in the later fifteenth century. Variations of his name appear in both the Patent and Close Rolls for the reign of Edward IV. In 1476, a 'John Piers of Cantele in Berneo of the province of Biscay' was granted a moiety of customs and subsidies usually due to the king from all merchandise of subjects of the king of Castile and Leon taken into and out of England via the ports of Dartmouth, Exeter, Plymouth, and Bridgewater, totalling 1000 crowns.[46] In 1481, Johan Piriz, amongst other Spanish merchants of Guipúzcoa (a region of Spain on the coast of the Bay of Biscay), was granted 5000 crowns of gold for the preservation of the peace between England and Spain and for the ending of their complaints against subjects of the king for the capture of their ships, goods, and merchandise.[47] In 1480–81, John Perus of Guipúzcoa was exporting cloth from London.[48] Johan Piriz also appears in the Southampton customs records during Edward IV's reign. For instance, John Piris Baracall (Barakaldo is in the region of Biscay) was importing wine and fruit in 1480: '25 tuns[49] rumney[50] & bastard[51], 276 pieces figs & raisins; I C.[52] toppets[53]'.[54] It is highly likely that this is the same man as Johan Piriz de Bischaia who was in partnership with Machado in 1484. It is currently unknown who Meullemester and the other wine merchants recorded in Machado's memorandum book were. It is conceivable that Machado had made contact with Meullermester and Piriz whilst living in Southampton and then used these contacts in exile to secure an income. According to the accounts, Machado made a total of £20 18s 3d through his dealings with Meullermester and Piriz.[55]

[45] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26^{r}–26^{v}.

[46] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward IV 1467–1477*, pp. 602–03.

[47] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward IV 1476–1485*, pp. 248, 279; *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward IV, 1476–1485*, pp. 227–28.

[48] Cobb, *The Overseas Trade of London*, pp. 81, 125, 141.

[49] Large cask, approximately 252 gallons.

[50] Sweet Greek wine.

[51] Sweet Spanish wine.

[52] Centum, hundred.

[53] Dry measure of uncertain size.

[54] Quinn, *The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV*, II, 143.

[55] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 26^{r}–27^{v}.

I have found no other evidence for Machado pursuing mercantile ventures prior to or after his exile, suggesting that Machado was pursuing such ventures in 1484 because they were his main source of income at a time when he was no longer in the employ of Richard III and not because he already had an established mercantile business.

In addition to indicating that Machado participated in mercantile ventures to provide income, the memorandum book's mercantile accounts suggest possible links in 1484 with other individuals involved in the Buckingham Rebellion. A 'master berquelley' and 'the widow of Hormede' are mentioned in the accounts, the first regarding money owed for a cartload of hay, and the latter as being Machado's hostess in December 1484.[56] I would argue that the first is a reference to Sir William Berkeley of Beveston in Gloucestershire, an esquire of the body, and constable of Southampton and Winchester. He was a Lancastrian supporter known to have been involved in the Buckingham Rebellion. Berkeley had been made governor of the Isle of Wight and was awarded the captaincy of the castle of Carisbrooke by Richard, Duke of Gloucester as Protector of England on 9 May 1483, an award confirmed on 27 July 1483 when Richard was king. However, after the Buckingham Rebellion, Berkeley escaped into exile and his governorship was given to Sir John Saville.[57] The second reference, to the 'widow of Hormede', is harder to interpret, but Hormede could be a reference to Great Hormead in Hertfordshire, a manor owned by the Earls of Oxford, the De Veres. The De Veres were staunch Lancastrians. John De Vere, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, joined Henry Tudor in exile after escaping captivity at Hammes Castle near Calais at the end of 1484.[58] He commanded the archers at Bosworth and held Henry's vanguard in fierce fighting with the Duke of Norfolk and Richard III's vanguard. De Vere became one of the 'great men of Henry VII's regime' and after Bosworth was restored to his titles and estates (including Hormead) and received many appointments and grants, including Lord Admiral, Chief Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster south of the Trent, Constable of the Tower of London, and Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England.[59] The 'widow of Hormede' may refer to a female member of the De Vere family, most likely the widow of

[56] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26^{r}–26^{v}.

[57] Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 76, 108, 112, 121.

[58] Ross, *John De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford, 1442–1513*, p. 84.

[59] Gunn, 'Vere, John de, thirteenth earl of Oxford (1442–1513)'.

one of John De Vere's younger brothers, perhaps most plausibly that of Thomas De Vere, who died between 1478 and 1479.[60]

Machado's memorandum book has also provided important information on women in exile. In discussions of the exiled Yorkists after the failed Buckingham Rebellion, it is always the men that are the focus. This is not surprising considering that sources that treat women in detail at this time are rare, and all the individuals indicted by Richard III for involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion were men, with the notable exception of Margaret Beaufort, Henry Tudor's mother. However, Machado's inventory mentions his wife more than once; her clothing is itemized, and, in the mercantile accounts that follow, Machado records that John de Meullemester lent his wife 20d in silver.[61] In addition, as noted above, Machado records the widow of Hormede as being his hostess in December 1484.[62] If Machado was in exile at this time, then his memorandum book suggests that his wife and other women were also living alongside the male rebels in exile.

An element of speculation is necessary to interpret the plethora of fragmented evidence for this time in Machado's life. It is clear, nonetheless, that something happened to make Machado change his allegiance from the anointed king Richard III to the usurper across the channel, Henry Tudor. A consideration of Machado's objects, the reason for the inventory of 1484 and its unusual form, and his reasons for buying and selling other objects recorded in the memorandum book all point to the notion that Machado was engaged in long-distance travel at the time, while subsequent mercantile accounts show that much of his income in that same year came from mercantile ventures engaged in with his existing contacts overseas. By considering this new interpretation of Machado's inventory and mercantile accounts alongside the contemporary political climate, Machado's connections with rebels, and the title of Richmond Herald bestowed upon him by Henry Tudor, we can surmise that the likely explanation is involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion and a resulting period of otherwise undocumented exile. In addition, Machado is known, through records of expenses in his memorandum book, to have been working for the exiled rebel, Thomas Grey, in 1485.[63] The next section of this article considers

[60] Ross, *John De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford, 1442–1513*, p. 78.

[61] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26^{v}.

[62] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26^{r}.

[63] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28^{r}–28^{v}.

what it was like to be in exile at this time, particularly considering the mobility of Machado and the other rebels.

Machado in Exile

It is difficult to trace Machado's precise movements and those of his possessions between 1484 and 1485. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the working hypothesis that Machado was in exile during this period is correct, the best way of tracing his movements is by considering the movements of Henry Tudor. Again, this is not easy; Polydore Vergil's *Anglica historia* is our main source for this stage in Henry Tudor's life, but was written after Henry's death. However, work on fragmentary Breton ducal financial records by Cora L. Scofield and Michael Jones has helped to trace some of Henry's movements whilst in Brittany.[64] Together, the financial records and Vergil give us the basics of Henry Tudor's travels during the important years of 1484 and 1485, when he was a real contender for the English crown.

After the death of Henry VI at the hands of Edward IV, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond became the premier Lancastrian claimant to the English throne based on his descent from Edward III through the Beauforts and their progenitor John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. As a result, Tudor had to flee England with his uncle, Jasper Tudor, in June 1471, at the age of fourteen. For thirteen years Tudor lived in exile at the court of Duke Francis II of Brittany, but not much is known as to how he passed his time or who his companions were during this period.[65] In 1474, rumours that Jasper and Henry Tudor could be kidnapped or murdered by English (or French) agents caused them to be housed in more secure and remote Breton castles. While Duke Francis and his leading councillors treated Henry and Jasper honourably, they were still prisoners. Henry had an active but restricted upbringing. He probably received conventional martial training and probably received as normal a noble education as possible.[66] However, the unpopularity of Richard III's reign and the failed rebellion of 1483 transformed Henry Tudor's bleak situation as an isolated political exile into a real contender for the English throne.

[64] Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, I, 172–73; Jones, '"For My Lord of Richmond, a *Pourpoint*... and a Palfrey"'.

[65] Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 17–18.

[66] Cunningham, *Henry VII*, pp. 16–18.

After the failure of the Buckingham Rebellion, Henry returned to Brittany, via Normandy where he heard intelligence that the Marquis of Dorset and a number of other Yorkist fugitives were at Vannes waiting to join him. Tudor sent for the exiles to meet him at Rennes where on Christmas Day 1483, they met in the cathedral and pledged their allegiance to Henry as rightful King of England.[67] It is unlikely that Machado was there, given that he was only dispatched to Calais on 15 December, and, by the time he reached France, would not have made it to Rennes in time. However, at some point soon after, I suggest that Machado joined Tudor, and was created Richmond Herald, the title by which he is known when he reappears in English sources in 1485.

In the summer of 1484, Brittany came to an agreement with Richard III by which Richard would grant the Duchy a thousand archers in its defence against France in return for Henry Tudor. However, whilst residing in Vannes, Henry heard of the alliance and devised a plan of escape to France. Henry arranged for most of the English nobility who were with him to call upon Duke Francis, who was residing near Anjou at the time. Henry, accompanied by five servants, pretended to pay a visit to a friend in a neighbouring manor. No one suspected him of any ulterior motive; there were many English living in Vannes at this time. But after journeying only five miles, Henry withdrew into a wood, changed into servants' clothing, and raced to Anjou, where he joined his advance party and crossed the border into France in early October. When the rest of Tudor's following from Brittany joined him (around four to five hundred men in total), Henry sought an interview with Charles VIII, the thirteen year old King of France, at Angers. At this point, he adopted his stance as the rightful claimant to the English throne. The young Charles and his regime vaguely promised support, but would not take any rash actions at this stage. The court then moved on to Montargis and then Paris, taking Tudor and his retinue with them. Whilst at Montargis, John De Vere, Earl of Oxford, joined Henry after escaping from Hammes Castle. Further recruits joined him at Paris, although the Marquis of Dorset did try to abandon Henry's cause by absconding to Flanders, but was caught and arrested at Compiègne. It is possible that Machado alerted Henry to Dorset's plan to flee and was rewarded accordingly immediately after Bosworth, when he was made a King of Arms and Southampton Searcher of Customs.[68] Henry moved on to Rouen after securing some funds and support from the French, leaving Dorset and John Bourchier behind in Paris as pledges.

[67] *Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. by Hay, pp. 201–04.

[68] Davies, 'Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII', pp. 10–11.

After mustering ships at the mouth of the Seine, Henry set sail for England on 1 August 1485 with two to four thousand men and a fleet of ships. On 22 August Henry Tudor defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field and became King of England.[69]

If we accept that Machado was in exile and part of Tudor's retinue at this time, it is likely that he accompanied Tudor on some of these journeys. However, heralds were often used as messengers at this time, and there would have been times when Machado was not with Tudor, but performing such a function. There is one period of time, however, during which we can be more accurate as to Machado's location and activities; in January and February of 1485, as evidenced by the list of expenses in his memorandum book, we know that he was acting as an agent for the rebel Marquis of Dorset in Flanders.[70]

The precise reasons why Machado was sent to Flanders by the Marquis of Dorset in 1485 are unknown, but it was almost certainly on business for Henry Tudor. Whilst Machado was there he rode for seven days from Bruges to Ghent to speak with a Monsieur Roumond, for which he claimed £1 3s 4d from the Marquis. He sold a total of £11 8s of the Marquis's silver, of which £2 was owed to him; he met and travelled with a Monsieur Jaques de Luxembourg and a Madame de Mans from Bruges on 2 February 1485; and he rode for ten days from Bruges to Laon in Northern France with messages from the Marquis, for which he received £1 13s 4d. Monsieur Roumond has been identified as Jaques de Savoie, Comte de Romont, commander of the Flemish armies.[71] Perhaps Machado was chosen for these missions because of a prior connection to the Low Countries — it seems likely that Machado lived in Bruges in the mid-fifteenth century. The acclaimed Portuguese historian Prof. A. H. de Oliveira Marques maintains that a Ruy Machado was living in the Portuguese colony in Bruges in 1455, and it is possible that Roger Machado can be identified as Rodrij Mersado, a member of the crossbowmen Guild of St George in Bruges in 1445.[72] Machado does not appear in English sources as Leicester Herald

[69] For a more in-depth discussion of Henry Tudor's exile in Brittany and France see Cunningham, *Henry VII*, pp. 10–30; Jones, '"For My Lord of Richmond, a *Pourpoint*... and a Palfrey"'; Jones, 'The Myth of 1485'; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 3–49; Davies, 'Richard III, Brittany, and Henry Tudor 1483–1485'; and Griffiths and Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, pp. 75–131.

[70] London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28^{r}–28^{v}.

[71] Davies, 'Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII', p. 10.

[72] Jones, 'Les ambassades de Roger Machado, le heraut Richmond en Bretagne (1490)', p. 149, n. 8; Crombie, 'From War to Peace', pp. 59–60.

until July 1471, which suggests that he may have first come to England with the returning king, Edward IV, who had spent a year in exile in Flanders.[73]

Considering the movements of Henry Tudor and the evidence we have for Machado's journey to Flanders, it is probable Machado moved around considerably whilst in exile in the years 1484 and 1485, taking most of his belongings with him. The years 1483 to 1484 were turbulent ones for Machado, who underwent a transformation from a royal herald in the household of the Yorkist kings of England to a political exile in Europe, dependent on the fate of the Lancastrian claimant, Henry Tudor. However, the gamble paid off when Tudor won the crown of England becoming Henry VII. When Machado died in 1510, he was one of the most senior heralds in the English Office of Arms. He was also Southampton Searcher of Customs, had received the prebend of Huish in Somerset (a type of benefice probably awarded to Machado for his loyal service), and had been granted a special licence to import Gascon wine. Machado had backed the right man and reaped the rewards.[74]

Conclusion

This article has used the example of the herald, Roger Machado, to highlight the mobility of people and their possessions during times of political upheaval in the later fifteenth century. Evidence concerning portable objects, when combined with later chronicles and fragmentary archival evidence, can shed light on an otherwise undocumented period in the biography of an influential individual. As well as enabling us to gain a fuller understanding of what might have happened during this time in Machado's life, this approach also sheds light on some of the usually neglected practicalities of how people survived in exile: what they took with them, how they made money, and who went with them.

Using Machado's under-explored memorandum book I have argued a case for Machado's potential involvement in the failed Buckingham Rebellion to overthrow Richard III. Machado, I suggest, was involved through Thomas Grey, the Marquis of Dorset, and through rebels from Southampton. As a result of the failure of the Rebellion, Machado was forced to flee England to join Henry Tudor in Brittany in December 1483, taking some of his possessions with him. The objects in question had value and were transportable, representing a considerable investment of his wealth. During his time in exile, Machado had to

[73] London, National Archives, E 403/844.

[74] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, II, 161.

find a source of income from somewhere, so he pursued mercantile ventures with foreign merchants. Machado probably moved around extensively with Henry Tudor, and was possibly with him in his dramatic flight from Brittany to France in October 1484. At the beginning of 1485, Machado was sent to Flanders as an agent of the Marquis of Dorset on business for Tudor, potentially because he had lived in Bruges prior to coming to England in 1471.

Henry Tudor eventually defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field, becoming Henry VII, the first Tudor king of England. Machado was rewarded for his loyal service to Henry during his time in exile through positions and moneys granted to him. Mobility had become a way of life for Machado as he was to continue to travel throughout the rest of his life, journeying many times to the royal courts of Europe on important diplomatic service for Henry VII. When Machado died in 1510, he was one of the most senior and trusted heralds in England. But it is unlikely that he would have been raised so high had he not decided to take himself, his wife, and his possessions into exile in 1483.

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